



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Envoy Says INF Verification System Effective
*LD2912133488 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT
29 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—The verification system worked out by Soviet and U.S. experts for the INF Treaty has fully proved its effectiveness and its components can well be used in drawing up other disarmament agreements, according to a prominent Soviet diplomat.

Ambassador Mikhail Streltsov, Soviet representative to the Special Verification Commission formed under the treaty eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, was speaking in a TASS interview.

The commission held three sessions and a memorandum of understanding on legal procedures for its work was signed in 1988. Work is nearing completion on another important document.

Eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is a very difficult job considering that it is the first time in world history that such a disarmament measure is being taken, Streltsov said.

But the treaty is being fulfilled "normally, in an atmosphere of trust and in a businesslike manner", he added.

INF Missile Stocks 'Dwindled Substantially'
*LD3012112888 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT
30 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—The medium- and shorter-range missile stockpiles have "dwindled" substantially both in the USSR and the United States during the outgoing year. A TASS diplomatic correspondent was told at the Soviet National Centre for Lessening the Nuclear Menace that more than 600 combat and training missiles of the two classes had been destroyed in the USSR in December 30th in compliance with the INF Treaty. This accounts for approximately a third of the stockpiles that have to be destroyed in the USSR under the treaty. As a result of this reduction 24 operational missile bases had to be shut down in the USSR.

The process of destroying medium- and shorter-range missiles is continuing in the United States, too. According to the Soviet National Centre, more than 200 combat and training missiles have been destroyed there so far.

It is believed in Soviet military circles that elimination of INF missiles has not reduced the security of the United States and NATO, on the one hand, and the USSR and Warsaw Treaty nations—on the other. On the contrary, this has strengthened it. Fulfillment of the INF Treaty under reciprocal control and verification promotes confidence between Moscow and Washington, as well as between the two major military-political alliances, contributes to the consolidation of strategic stability.

The experience, which the two sides have gleaned in drawing up the treaty and in its implementation, is undoubtedly useful also at the present stage of the preparation of an agreement to cut by 50 per cent the strategic offensive armaments of the two sides.

Kulikov on 'Approximate Balance' With NATO
*AU2712131888 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
27 Dec 88 p 9*

[Unattributed report: "Military Warns Gorbachev Against Imbalance"]

[Text] Moscow—In the opinion of Soviet Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, when overall military strengths are compared, there is no imbalance compared to NATO. After a Warsaw Pact session in Sofia in mid-December, Kulikov stressed in an interview with the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI: "There is an approximate balance in the amount of armament and combat technology."

This is the conclusion arrived at by the Warsaw Pact states after analyzing the state of armament "up to today," Kulikov stressed in the interview, which has been made available exclusively to DIE WELT. The Soviet marshal implied that, in his view, the reduction of Soviet troops by 500,000 men, which was announced by party chief Mikhail Gorbachev, will further change the qualitative relationship of the armed forces to the disadvantage of the East Bloc.

Armies Not to Be Weakened [subhead]

In the interview, Kulikov was asked whether this reduction has disturbed the Warsaw Pact defense ministers. His answer: "When the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces was discussed, the defense ministers affirmed that our main task is to fulfill the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee, which are aimed at preventing a war and the arms race. We also have the task of improving the quality of our Armed Forces. The unity of these goals is subject to one task: not to weaken the defense capability of our armies."

According to Kulikov, the ministers pointed out that all Warsaw Pact states are following a unified military doctrine. In this connection, the "common defense shield is always compared with the possibilities of the opposing NATO armies."

Nevertheless, Marshal Kulikov stressed the necessity of dialogue with NATO. In his view, "negotiations would contribute to reducing the Armed Forces and conventional armaments of both alliances. This is a problem that has matured."

NOVOSTI asked: "There are publications in the West that claim that even after the reduction, the Soviet Union will have preserved a considerable superiority with regard to the number of weapons. Is this true?"

Kulikov answered: "We have said this before and we say today that a certain imbalance and asymmetry exists with regard to the number of weapons and technologies, while there is an approximate balance and equal security of the opposing alliances. However, they are not of such a kind as the authors of the latest NATO publication try to assert.

"As we see it, they deliberately play up our superiority with regard to tanks. However, with regard to the combat machinery of the infantry, they have played it up fivefold. The figure is also played up with regard to other weapons. As regards the kinds of weapons in which NATO is considerably superior to the Warsaw Pact countries—for instance, attack planes, naval forces, in particular aircraft carriers, and antitank missiles—these are not included in the calculations.

"This grossly unobjective approach permits a different interpretation of the relationship between the two opposing blocs" armed forces and combat technologies. The tendentiously imprecise information in the NATO publication does not promote dialogue, either."

"No One - Way Street" [subhead]

Concerning "our superiority" after the reduction, Kulikov said: "Before the reduction, we noted the existence of an approximate balance. The existing imbalance will not disappear afterward, either. In the case of NATO, on the other hand, it is not only that the superiority with regard to the most important attack forces is preserved, but it can even be increased if NATO does not respond to our steps with its own reductions."

The reduction of armed forces is a "complicated process," Kulikov admits. "However, it is not a one-way street but a two-way street. Both our armed forces and the armed forces and technology of NATO have to be reduced to the same degree. Of course, we hope that they will make concessions."

U.S. Expert Assesses Gorbachev Arms Proposal
*LD2912153588 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT
29 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 29 TASS—The coming unilateral reduction of Soviet arms and Armed Forces announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his U.N. speech will be an impressive and very important action, said Jonathan Dean, the former head of an American delegation to the talks on mutual reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe, to TASS correspondent Vladimir Kikilo.

Dean, who is now an arms control expert in the influential nationwide Union of Concerned Scientists, said that these measures will help sweep away many fears of a surprise attack on Western Europe. Dean also remarked that there are still some questions about the future of the withdrawn tanks, their new location and disposition. He hoped that the Soviet Government will give Western observers an opportunity to follow the withdrawal of troops and equipment. This is quite feasible and there will be no doubts left about the importance of the action. He hoped that as a result of these measures the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries will arrive at the coming talks more resolute in their desire to achieve a positive result.

Dean remarked that the Soviet reduction is a serious and impressive sign of intentions to lessen military confrontation because the announced withdrawal of troops and equipment goes beyond the levels suggested during the last round of talks on arms and armed forces reduction in Central Europe. The political result of these Soviet measures is that it will now be very difficult to modernise NATO nuclear forces and especially deploy new "Lance" missiles, said the expert. He added that this is one more positive result of the Soviet decision.

Dean said that the measures will help erode the enemy image of the Soviet Union in the West. Touching upon statements about alleged Soviet attempts to drive a wedge between the U.S. and their allies, Dean said that if mankind has really entered a period when a decline of confrontation in Europe is possible, many Western countries will have to revise some of their present ideas and not consider this situation as a new way to preserve confrontation. The decline of confrontation will help reduce military expenditures and ensure stability. The situation is developing favourably, said Dean.

Dean also said that if he led the American delegation to talks on the mutual reduction of the arms and armed forces in Central Europe as he did a few years ago, he would have mixed feelings. First of all, Soviet proposals put pressure on the U.S. position on arms reduction. He would propose to change the American position to enable more substantial reductions on both sides. He thinks that the sides should reduce their arms and Armed Forces to the lowest possible level of parity which he estimates at about 50 per cent of the present number of NATO troops and equipment. If parity remains and there are early notification and control measures, any serious threat of surprise attack will be eliminated. There will be no threat of secret mobilisations and military budgets will be reduced by at least 50 per cent. Dean considers it a realistic aim for the sides to work for, as the Soviet Union has already demonstrated its intention to reduce its Armed Forces.

Program on Gorbachev UN Speech, Other Issues
LD2412161388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1857 GMT 22 Dec 88

["Repercussions" program presented by Boris Kalyagin with Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; Viktor Pavlovich Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, deputy of a CPSU Central Committee subdepartment]

[Text] [Kalyagin] Hello, esteemed viewers. We meet you once again in the program "Repercussions" here at the studio in Ostankino in order to answer matters of concern to you regarding the world situation. Today the theme of our joint discussion is connected with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's UN Speech.

To begin, write down the telephone number of our studio: 217-45-43. As usual, the number has 12 lines. I draw your attention particularly to this, because some viewers in their letters complain that they are unable to get through to our studio because there is only one line. So, do not be worried that there is only one telephone number. It has 12 channels; it does have a fairly large handling capacity. A further traditional request is that in specifying your question give your surname, first name and patronymic, your place of residence and your profession. This is desirable but, of course, not obligatory.

Now permit me to introduce the participants in our program. They are: Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; Viktor Pavlovich Karpov, USSR Deputy foreign minister; and Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin deputy head of a subdepartment of the CPSU Central Committee. As you see, our composition is also becoming traditional.

Now a further few words on the theme of our discussion today:

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's UN Speech has evoked a very big response throughout the world. Both our supporters and opponents note that the speech was conceptual in its character and expresses our new vision of peace based on the supremacy of general human interests, and we note that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev not only gave a philosophical interpretation of the tasks facing the planet, but also proposed practical steps toward solving them. He spoke of the worldwide ecological threat, the peaceful conquest of space, the vast debts of the developing countries, humanitarian issues, regional conflicts and, of course, the problem of disarmament. I have been specifying all these themes so carefully because I want to remind you, comrade viewers, that we can discuss all these issues with you.

I can hear that our stenographers are already quite energetically receiving your first questions. Before we begin directly answering them I want further to draw attention to the fact that the reaction to Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech was, on the whole, very positive. It was

supported by the fraternal socialist countries and the developing states. It was also given a high appraisal by the leaders of many Western powers. For instance, THE WASHINGTON POST generally said that it had been one of the most outstanding speeches in UN History. There are, of course, a large number of questions and large number of other opinions.

First of all I want to ask all of you one general preliminary question: Why do you think there has, on this occasion, been such a high appraisal and such great interest, and in general what comments do you have on the response to our leader's speech? Who wants to begin?

[Bovin] Well, I don't know, but in my view it is not so difficult really to answer this question. Well, altogether, judging by the attention that the whole world is not paying to Gorbachev, he is the number one figure in world politics. Therefore his appearance in New York on the rostrum of the UN right from the outset evoked such extraordinary interest. Everyone was awaiting it, and everyone was preparing for it. This in itself was important. On the other hand of course, what Mikhail Sergeyevich had to say was simply a very substantive speech, and not just from the viewpoint of the latest topics and particular pressing problems which are of interest to everyone right now, because in general everyone speaks on these problems, expressing their point of view. The speech also expounded a whole philosophy for our times, and made an attempt to understand the particular features of the historical period in which we are living to approach them from broad sociological positions. This first section of the speech, of course, attracted particularly heightened interest on the part of, say, the people who are interested in all this and who understand that one can arrive at some kind of specific political fabric. Politicians engage in this. But it is very important that it be confined within some general system of coordinates regarding philosophy, sociology and world outlook, and principles in general. Indeed, a feature of Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech was precisely that he served up this system of coordinates within which we are conducting our policies. This also naturally attracted attention.

However, it would of course be deeply naive to think that everyone simply burst into applause. There were the most diverse judgements. There were negative judgements. There were skeptical judgements. Well, not so much negative as skeptical.

[Kalyagin] Yes, one did not encounter openly negative attitudes.

[Bovin] Yes, there were skeptical attitudes along the lines of the saying "make a soft bed and sleep on a hard one." I will now read out a very typical extract from the London TIMES. Just see what a scientific staff-member writes. He says: Lenin claimed that victory is impossible if one cannot attack and retreat appropriately. Gorbachev is making a genuine retreat, but is doing so to

advance. Despite all Moscow's new thinking, arms control still remains an instrument of ideological struggle and military strategy for Moscow. He continues: A serious strategist, the Soviet Union is concerned not over the imbalance in numbers, but by the imbalance in potential. It is striving to achieve the advantage not in all spheres, but only in the decisive ones. In all, it wants only an agreement on arms that gives a legitimate status to a more sensible, economic, and powerful organization of the Warsaw Pact forces. We will not be able to counter this, unless we realize that Gorbachev's initiative means a new stage in the struggle between East and West and not the struggle's extinction. Here, then, you have the position of the rightwingers, who say: Yes, he speaks of troops reductions, but only to strengthen the East's army and, so to speak, continue the confrontation. There were also statements of this kind.

[Kalyagin] The same old reactionary thinking, as we say.

[Bovin] Yes, that is precisely what has manifested itself.

[Kalyagin] You wished to add something.

[Karpov] I only wanted to say from a slightly different angle, that philosophy and the practical proposals in this speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich constituted, as it were, a single fusion. Herein in my opinion is the strength of the effect of this speech, since there are not only generalizations, but also specific proposals for the implementation of these guidelines and this vision of the world; it also attempts to put forward these solutions to see that the vision is implemented.

[Shishlin] Well, I agree in the main with what Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich said with the exception of this long quote from THE TIMES. [laughter from other participants] It seems to me, however, that a further circumstance that attracts attention is that this speech shows that the formation of the new political thinking is a living process involving the Soviet Union, the capitals of other states and practically the whole world community. The fact that the pioneering role in this belongs to the Soviet Union was shown, of course, very distinctly and directly in those dramatic days in New York, which were forcefully interrupted in connection with the tragedy in Armenia, and subsequently by the response that Boris Aleksandrovich mentioned.

[Kalyagin] It should be said that even in our own country, not everyone has been unambiguously supporting our proposals. There have been doubts. We have immediately received several questions on this. Aleksey Bespokoyev, a student from a Leningrad vocational and technical college, says that the USSR is once again taking peace-loving steps, this time by reducing conventional armaments. He asks if we are not getting too carried away. Will it not turn out that these actions might be to our detriment, if in this case there is not the positive counter-response in Europe and the United States? Vladimir Grigoryevich Lebedev from Moscow also asks:

What is the reason for this unilateral reduction of the army, tanks, and aircraft in our country's most strategic defense areas? Pavel Ivanovich Troipin from Minsk asks in general: Who specifically adopted the decision for a unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces, and when? Was it the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, or the CPSU Central Committee?

[Shishlin] These are altogether interesting questions. You know, these measures are viewed differently by all sides: by ourselves, the West or, say, the south. In the West another question is now most frequently being asked. It is being said that this unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 men and a corresponding amount of armaments is, it is claimed, insufficient to eliminate the imbalance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, while our own comrades are worried that we are reducing too much. I think that both the doubts of the West and the doubts of our own comrades are not justified. Although there are things to analyze here regarding the doubts of our own comrades, you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich in his UN speech deemed it necessary to note that we are taking all appropriate measures to consolidate our own security and the security of our friends and allies and that the security of the socialist world and the socialist community is reliably protected. This is indeed so. Now, who was it that took the decisions? Firstly, these decisions were adopted in consultation with our allies, who are, of course, directly affected by this. The decision was worked through very thoroughly—Viktor Pavlovich here will not let me say anything untrue—by our departments, and the final political decision was adopted at the level of the country's political leadership, that is, at the Politburo level.

[Bovin] Well, of course, the question of how much we are cutting is a rather complicated one because what is 500,000 men, after all. Everything is relative. If we cut 500,000 from 1 million that is one question. But if we cut 500,000 from 10 million that is a quite different reduction. Unfortunately, just because we say A we do not always say B. That is, to assess the figures that have been given; and so our citizens, Soviet people, are able to assess them, it would be good to know from what figure we are cutting, how many tanks we are reducing by 10,000 and how many aircraft we are cutting 800 from. Unfortunately, and, by the way we have already spoken about it in this program, we are moving toward that but we have not yet got there because our military comrades have, of course, already been embraced by glasnost, which is under way among us.

[Kalyagin] Excuse me, I must interrupt you for a moment because I have prepared a question that we received for our last broadcast but it is directly related to what you are saying. Engineer Aleksandrov from Moscow asks: When will glasnost finally touch defence ministry activities and when will our generals finally stop citing research by the London institute and other institutes in their articles and publish their own data?

[Shishlin] I think Viktor Pavlovich will be able to reply in more detail, but I will respond very briefly. Literally, the last edition of the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI

carries a very substantial interview with Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, who says it is essential to elaborate in practice all of these ideas, to interpret all of these formulas. Undoubtedly, in particular he talks about publishing the military budget, about publishing military data, so one should not delay this because it has foreign ministry support.

[Bovin] One hopes that there will be no delays. There has already been quite a long delay. We hope that matters will proceed more quickly, and that Viktor Pavlovich will save the situation here, today.

[Karpov] I would like to say that some steps are being taken toward greater glasnost with regard to our Armed Forces. A few days ago the committee of defense ministers of Warsaw Pact member countries met in Sofia to discuss questions directly connected with the balance of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. They decided to publish data on the Warsaw Pact forces and to compare them with the NATO forces. So, the first step has been taken and it seems that these data will soon be published.

[Shishlin] But there's another point here, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, it's important to realize where these cuts are being made, in which combat sector the cuts are being made.

[Bovin] Well, in this case, it's in the most important sector.

[Shishlin] Yes, in the most important one. So if overall we're making a cut of about 10-15 percent, in the crucial area, according to estimates by our military comrades, it's a cut of about 20-25 percent.

[Bovin] And this is exactly what bothers our viewers. They are asking if this isn't too much...?

[Shishlin, interrupting] No, it's not too much.

[Bovin] So clearly we have to state that we have built up a safety margin over the years and we can remove these tanks, aircraft, artillery, and, well, retain our security. It won't disrupt our security. Our Western counterparts are saying that we are not yet even eliminating the existing real imbalance. It seems things still stand two to one in our favor, which ought to reassure those viewers who are concerned with this.

[Karpov] For the benefit of those who are worried, I would like to add that along with the reductions in tanks, artillery, and assault aircraft there will also be a reorganization of the structure of the Armed Forces, of the tank divisions remaining. They will have less offensive capability, but this doesn't mean that they will lose any of their defensive capability at the same time. On the contrary, they will be given greater defensive capabilities.

[Kalyagin] As for responsive moves by the United States, it's still hard to say. But, all the same, when Reagan was asked if there would be any responsive steps, he noted that if the Soviet decision gives rise to U.S. superiority, the United States would make the necessary changes.

[Shishlin] I didn't quite get that. If what?

[Kalyagin] Reagan was asked whether the United States would take any measures to respond to the Soviet steps and said that the United States could make the appropriate changes if the Soviet decision gives rise to U.S. superiority.

[Shishlin] Ah, to U.S. superiority? Yes, I get it now.

[Kalyagin] Well, you know, of course, perhaps, this isn't a bad thing, but it's still hard to say how they are going to judge things. Comrade (Silenko) from Kherson asks how much of our state budget will be saved by the troop reduction. Can we answer this or is still to soon to say?

[Karpov] I don't think we can say yet. We don't have composite data for our military expenditure, so it's not yet possible to work out the benefit to be obtained from such a reduction.

[Kalyagin] Sergey Ivanovich (Kastyan), head of a party history faculty in Mozyr, writes that the approves of Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech but wants to know what is meant by the deideologization of international relations.

[Shishlin] Well, it means what it says, that interstate relations have to be freed of any kind of ideological prejudice and, in particular, of ideological stereotypes. This doesn't mean that we are abandoning our world outlook, our vision of the world. No, our world vision remains Marxist-Leninist, our philosophical approach is still based on our Marxist-Leninist theory. But we are living in a new world, and in this new world, when problems that cannot be resolved by any one country alone are becoming paramount, universal values and universal interests have to made supreme priorities. In this respect, I think that national, class, or state selfishness leads only to a dead end. In today's world, to find answers to the menacing problems facing mankind—and I don't just mean the problem of survival but ecological problems; problems connected with developing new energy sources, eliminating foreign debt, backwardness, and so on—all of these problems can only be solved if the whole world community joins forces. Incidentally, Mikhail Sergeyevich quite sensibly stressed the need, well, for the voice of each member of the world community to be clearly heard in discussing international affairs. A radical improvement in the international atmosphere could be brought about not only by Soviet-U.S. efforts, not only by, let's say, East and West European efforts, and not only by the efforts of countries in the Asian-Pacific region, but by the entire world community. The common denominator of these efforts could and should be a policy of giving priority to universal values, and that alone.

[Kalyagin] The (Zhilov) family from Tiraspol in Moldavia asks whether we think the worldwide assistance given to Armenia is connected by the impact of Gorbachev's UN speech. I ought to mention that there's another note here from Yerevan, from a Comrade (Motevosyan). He wants to thank all our leaders and the whole Soviet people for the assistance rendered them. I think that there's a sort of inner link between these two contributions. Yes, it's probably true, of course, that Gorbachev's speech, and indeed all the recent moves by our country, have made an impact on the world public. If the earthquake had happened several years ago, there probably wouldn't have been this kind of effect.

[Bovin] The thing is that people have begun to change their attitude toward us. We have begun pursuing a different policy inside the country and outside the country. We have begun to look much more civilized as people and as a society, and this response to Armenia is, of course, also a reaction to the positive changes that have been taking place here and that are expressed, in particular, in Gorbachev's UN speech. Yes, of course there's a connection.

[Shishlin] That's undoubtedly the case, but at the same time, comrades, you must realize that the scale of the disaster that has struck Armenia in itself has also given rise to this great wave of sympathy.

[Bovin] Yes, that's true, of course.

[Kalyagin] There are a few questions here concerning humanitarian issues. Yuriy Yuriy Evich (Bozhikov), an office worker from Moscow, notes that a international scientific conference on human rights was held in Moscow from 13-15 December and asks why this conference wasn't covered by the central press and television. A pensioner from Kisinev, (Semenova), asks if it is true that in the light of the solving of humanitarian issues it will be possible to freely leave the USSR for permanent residence abroad. Comrade (Kolesev) says that in his speech, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev mentioned that secrets are the only obstacle to foreign travel. What does a person who doesn't know any secrets have to do?

[Shishlin, laughing] He shouldn't acquire any secrets.

[Kalyagin] And what about permission to emigrate?

[Shishlin] These matters are being examined. New legislation is being put together on these matters and, of course, as our comrades write, permission to freely leave and enter the Soviet Union will be guaranteed, as long as there's no problem with maintaining or protecting state secrets. As for the poor coverage of that international human rights seminar, well, since the reproach is levelled not only at the mass media, but also at central television, I think it would most appropriate for Boris Aleksandrovich and Aleksandr yevgeniyevich to reply.

[Bovin] Well the whole problem, of course, is that there are so many things going on. I can only speak for our newspaper but, you know, we're simply suffocating. Unfortunately, we have a very small newspaper, in terms of volume, and we are being suffocated by protocol and obligations. Every day we are obliged to print various things, and unfortunately there are some fairly interesting events about which we can only.... I think we probably did report that the conference took place...

[Shishlin—interrupting] Yes, you did.

[Bovin] Yes, we did. But, unfortunately, we were simply unable to cover the details of what happened at the conference for the apparently ridiculous and naive reason that there just wasn't space in the paper. We just don't have the space, unfortunately.

[Kalyagin] I'd just like to back up what Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich has said. We have the same problem. Naturally, we also reported that such a scientific conference had taken place, but it's pretty difficult to cover all the scientific conferences that take place in Moscow, and obviously special programs would have to be made to do so. You can't get everything into Vremya.

[Bovin] But to get to the heart of the matter, Nikolay Vladimirovich was quite correct in what he said. Long ago we signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which contains provisions on the freedom to enter or leave one's country. Unfortunately, however, for a long time the situation in our country did not allow us, in effect, to join that convention and fulfill that article of the declaration. But now, again in the context of the restructuring taking place here, within the context of creating a law-governed state—which is what we are now working on—the procedures applying to entry and departure will gradually be altered. Of course, this is fairly complex problem for us, if only, after all, because of the pressure of such an enormous tradition. For 70 years it hasn't been possible, and now we have this apparatus, which is, well, always afraid to let people go. If people were coming and going all over the place, there would be all sorts of spies crossing the border. But I think we'll overcome all these fears and gradually attain the level dictated by these international norms, which we have signed and which we recognize. I'm certain we shall.

[Shishlin] But there's another point here, of course, the economic aspect. We are badly prepared. We're badly prepared.

[Bovin] Yes, the rouble, of course, the rouble. As long as the rouble remains unconvertible, we shall have this economic millstone looming over us, which will naturally hold back these reciprocal border-crossings, so to speak. This is a very serious factor, and the prospects here are not particularly reassuring. But we shall, of course, be working to ensure that our rouble becomes a normal, freely convertible currency.

[Kalyagin] Let's move on to regional conflicts now. We've got a few questions on the subject of the Near East problem. In particular, a student from Palestine, Amashekh Nasir, who's studying in Kharkov, asks what opportunities exist for resolving the Near East, Palestinian problem. A Comrade Gusenov from Baku, on the other hand, asks about the future of Soviet-Israeli relations. There are indeed some fairly important developments taking place at the moment, so who...

[Shishlin—interrupting] Viktor Pavlovich, I think, even though he's a disarmament specialist.

[Karpov] I'm a specialist on disarmament, yes, but not on Israel. [laughter]

[Shishlin] And on the United States as well.

[Karpov] Yes, the United States as well.

[Shishlin] And, indeed, the Warsaw Pact too. Anyway...er...what were the questions again?

[Kalyagin] Right. Well there's one on finding a solution to the Near East problem, the Palestinian problem, and our relations with Israel.

[Bovin] Well, what I would say is this. For the past few years, the Near East issue has been in a slightly frozen state. And now what's happening is a very active dynamization of the issue. It has to be said that 'Arafat, several years ago, adopted a, well, a sort of compromise solution to the Near East problem—a search for accords of some sort by nonmilitary and purely political means. And this policy of 'Arafat's caused, in effect, a split inside the PLO at the time. It caused a tumultuous debate within the organization, one which, incidentally, is still going on. But nonetheless, he has had the courage and resolve to pursue this policy through several fairly tumultuous years, and we are now seeing it gain the upper hand in the PLO. The latest session of the National Council, in effect, recognized Israel's right to existence, recognized the main UN resolutions, and, though it may sound a little odd, recognized resolution 181, on the basis of which at one time two states—one Jewish and one Arab—were set up in Palestine. And now, referring in particular to that resolution it has been declared that an Arab Palestinian state exists there.

As you know, things have even reached the point where Reagan has instructed his diplomats and State Department to begin talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization. The first round of those talks has been held. So, you see, there are some fairly major developments taking place there, and perhaps the only countries who are unhappy are Syria, which has protested against such a policy, Libya, and Israel. At least, that's as far as I'm aware. Perhaps there's some other state, but I know that at least three have protested. This indicates the stances of Syria and Libya, which are well-known. Incidentally, 'Arafat's opposition forces, which are led by Colonel

Abu Musa, rely, in particular, on Syrian support. They have a different point of view on the whole issue; they continue to believe that they only working option, so to speak, for solving the Near East problem, is the military option, including, incidentally, the annihilation of Israel.

All the same, I repeat, 'Arafat's concept has now gained the upper hand here. Well, from the viewpoint of 'Arafat himself and from our viewpoint, too, the best variant now, of course, would be to convene an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all the interested sides, including Israel, and to discuss, as it were, this: on what territory should this independent state be situated and what is to be done so that this territory is, as it were, liberated from Israeli occupation. This, then, is the main issue.

[Shishlin] It seems to me, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, that you are right when you say that conflicts are thawing out. To put it more precisely, it is the paths that lead to a political settlement of the Near East problem that are thawing out. But you were right to have mentioned that Israel rejects the present position. It is, quite simply, not ready.

[Bovin] Yes, it is simply not ready for this.

[Shishlin] We shall see what now develops there. The government is in the process of being formed, incidentally, and, despite some analysts' expectations, this government will, again, be a coalition government, and both Shamir and Peres will take part in this government. As for the Soviet Union's relations with Israel, their future development, well, frankly—I am here voicing my own, personal viewpoint—it seems to me that if at present we are not talking of establishing, or, to be more precise, resuming diplomatic relations with Israel, since the matter of convening an international conference on the Near East has, for the time being, not made much headway, the tendency itself toward conducting dialogue with Israel does exist and has made itself felt. And I think that Israel, too, is aware of this, that it is necessary for the Soviet Union to play an active role in a Near East settlement via political means.

[Bovin] Yes, and it is, let us say, not a coincidence that a group of Israeli diplomats has now been in Moscow for a rather considerable time. Well, it is true that they are dealing with other questions, consular matters, connected with the Netherlands Embassy, and are working on the problems of Jews leaving here, leaving the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, the fact is rather interesting in itself, and our consular staff have for a long time now been in Israel. Well, take Israel's position in connection with this aircraft, and then Israel's assistance in connection with Armenia—already there have been several planes. As you can see, then, some positive changes are also taking place here, in this direction which, I think, is the right direction. Because if we indeed wish to play an

even more active role in the Near East, we, of course, need to have representatives of our own in Tel Aviv. I think that sooner or later we shall achieve this.

[Shishlin] We have a plenipotentiary representative there. You said Tel Aviv, but they declared another town as their capital.

[Bovin] Yes, they did indeed. But if our Ambassador goes there, he will [word indistinct] go to Tel Aviv and not to Jerusalem and this should be clear from the beginning.

[Shishlin] That's right, that's right.

[Kalyagin] To come back to the Near East problem, it can probably be mentioned that in the Israeli Government itself differences in connection with the recent proposal have now also begun to take shape. Peres, for example, states that he is ready to meet any representative of the Palestinian people if such a person renounces terrorism and believes that Israel has a right to exist. This is the famous Security Council resolution, just what 'Arafat was saying in his speech. So, let us wait and see how events develop there.

And now on the subject of putting the military industry on a peaceful footing. Well, this thesis, of which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke in his speech, gives rise to certain questions. Well, Comrade Yuliy Mikhaylovich Khachatryan from Minsk says this makes him doubtful—How can a transfer of this kind be effectively carried out? Comrade Nadezhda Ivanovna Khityayeva from Moscow asks: Has a reaction been forthcoming from other states to our specific proposals to make plans for converting defensive enterprises available? At an earlier stage we received a question from Galina Sergeyevna Zavityan from Moscow who asks what alternative employment is there for the U.S. military-industrial complex specialists once the disarmament problem has been resolved there.

[Karpov] All these are, of course, very complex questions, since putting military industry on a civilian footing is connected with breaking the stereotypes which have taken shape and, as it were, piled up. It is also connected with psychological changes in the minds of those who are in charge of this industry. It must be said that in our country an experience of transferring production in the missile industry to a peaceful footing has now appeared, small though it is. I have the Votkinsk engineering works in mind. Up to the conclusion of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, it used to produce medium-range missiles and shorter-range missiles—that is to say, the SS-20, as it is known, and the SS-23 and 22. Production of these missiles has now been halted. A whole range of measures had to be taken: these ensured both that highly qualified workers, foremen, and engineers were retained. At the same time, the works, or, at any rate, a part of the works, was transferred to producing different output—peaceful output—such as

drilling equipment, to give an example, machine tools, high precision tools, washing machines, which enjoy very great popularity—of the Malyutka type, small ones—and even children's perambulators. Well, this range of various goods which the national economy needs is now being completed and this is a restructuring of the works.

However, during this restructuring, certain, how shall I put it, financial sacrifices had to be made: The average monthly earnings of workers and employees have to be retained while the restructuring is in progress and while the works is being transformed. But if one is to speak of other enterprises, we have, of course, the possibilities and these are now beginning to be made use of also at other enterprises which used to deal with, say, the production of medium-range missile launchers—one is in Volgograd. There too, production of very important output—drilling equipment for the oil industry—is now being mastered. Well then, such processes of restructuring are getting off the ground, and it is doubtless essential to sum up this experience and to analyze the future paths of restructuring in our military industry, adapting this restructuring to the reductions which will continue to be carried out in our country as a result of the accords [dogovorennosti] with the NATO countries and the United States on a reduction of strategic offensive arms and conventional armed forces and arms.

Such plans are now at the stage of—inception—that's how I would put it. We still have a great deal here to...

[Bovin interrupting] But instructions have been given to specialists, as it were, to work these matters through.

[Karpov] Instructions have already been given to specialists to work them through, yes. I think that here we ought to take a look at the international experience. There are studies that have been done to be found at the United Nations; and at what has been done under the ILO auspices, for this kind of research is carried out there, too. That is to say, it is necessary to work out, in earnest, a general national program for converting military industry to a peaceful footing.

[Kalyagin] A rather poignant and, I would say, angry question has arrived. Semen Yakovlevich Matlysh from Moscow says that it is known that the Soviet Union does not want war. Why, then, have we produced so many arms that we now have to destroy them? We are preparing to destroy missiles, tanks, planes, and other costly arms. Who will be held responsible for the billions of rubles thrown to the wind, money that our economy needs so much?

[Karpov] There was, unfortunately, a time when decisions were made in secrecy and without discussion, and the programs which we now have to terminate and get rid of, concerning medium-range missiles, were taken as long ago as in the 1970's. That is why we are now having to pay the price for the mistakes in the planning of our military

machine, that's how we shall put it, mistakes made way back at the start of the 1970's. Unfortunately the programs did gather momentum; it is as though they began to perpetuate themselves. Take, for example, production of the SS-20 missiles which we are now having to destroy. Serial production began, it began to flow; not tens, but hundreds of them were produced and that is why, as it were, well, the line was in operation, the conveyor belt was functioning, the missiles would be deployed. But apparently it was necessary at a certain time to stop and think: Where is the saturation limit? Unfortunately, the saturation limit was not reached and we had to reach accords on eliminating an entire class of intermediate-range missiles, accords with the United States, and to eliminate, to start to eliminate these missiles.

[Shishlin] And incidentally, Viktor Pavlovich, this reform of the political system which is currently in the process of being implemented in our country, and the present transition from the first stage of this reform to what is already the second stage of the reform—the formation of what is strictly a law-governed state—should create guarantees against these mistakes, serious mistakes, erroneous policy. I would say that this question is not so much an angry one as a serious one, a serious one which must be thought over.

[Bovin] It is also connected with—well, let us recall, because, let's say, it is not something that just came out of the blue. Our entire ideology, our entire world outlook, of a country finding itself encircled, under a hostile encirclement—all this applied before the war, so to speak. And after the war too, we emerged with this feeling that the Americans do have a nuclear bomb; that they are preparing an attack, so to speak, on us; that it is necessary for us to defend ourselves. And we were not, it is true, on our best behaviour after the war, establishing our as it were influence in the world. Well, all this made the military flywheel spin ever faster; there were these programs, another round of programs, yet another one, and another one after that. There was this competition with the Americans; well, if they are doing something, then we had to mirror it right away and do it, too, and this endless (?race) began.

[Karpov] Moreover, we are doing it on a greater scale, because we also wanted to be equal to all other nuclear powers, too.

[Shishlin] Yes.

[Bovin] Well, unfortunately, this roundabout of the arms race has created a situation in which we have enormous quantities of arms—this, incidentally, goes for the Americans, too—because just as we have no need for such an enormous quantity of arms, so the Americans, too, have no such need either. Well now, as it were, we have begun to comprehend this, and within the framework of the new political thinking, which bases security not upon

these mountains of arms but upon mutual arms reductions; we have begun to approach a stage in which these arms will be destroyed. However, huge amounts of money have been thrown away.

Who is to blame for a question, so typical of [word indistinct] intelligentsia is being put here—who is guilty? Evidently you won't now find the guilty ones. You won't now find those who are guilty, and there is no point in talking about it. The general line was there. We are all guilty, or we are all not guilty.

[Kalyagin] Ivan Nikiforovich Karendyukov from Voronezh returns to what we were saying about reductions of armed forces. We said it did not weaken us, that we were improving the quality of arms, and that our forces were on the level of what is essential for defense. Consequently—this is the conclusion Comrade Karendyukov draws—the NATO countries will not reduce their forces and will leave them as they are.

[Karpov] So far, yes; for the time being they do not wish to respond to us with reciprocity, making unilateral reductions. But we hope and we reckon that as a result of the Vienna meeting within the framework of the all-European process, a mandate will be approved for the talks of 23 states, NATO and Warsaw Pact members countries, concerning reductions of armed forces and arms in Europe. In the framework of these talks we will conduct in earnest a conversation about lowering the levels of military confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. And reductions of the armed forces and arms alike, upon a mutually balanced basis, upon a basis of constructing new mutual relations between two blocs, one which would eliminate the mutual threat, the threat of attack, and would reduce the armed forces of both blocs to the size and potential that is only essential for defense, will, of course, be needed to lower this level.

[Shishlin] Incidentally, Boris Aleksandrovich, I think we all have noticed the decision of the latest NATO council session, held at the foreign minister level. And I would say that NATO's statement—true, some of our journalists subjected it right away, as is the custom, to fierce criticism. However, it contains a number of serious and constructive ideas which precisely meet halfway the considerations voiced by Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Kalyagin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, I want you to wait a bit, because you anticipate my next question. The thing is that, indeed, a session of the NATO foreign ministers did take place immediately following Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's UN address; Kipras Mazheyka, our Brussels correspondent, covered this meeting. He prepared some material and even got an interview with the new NATO secretary general—earlier this was rather complicated, but now NATO secretary generals willingly meet us. Well, Manfred Woerner, the new secretary general, gave him an interview and I would, to start with, like to present this material for your attention. Let us ask our studio director to show this video tape from Brussels.

[Begin recording] [video shows NATO press service film clips of NATO session] [Mazheyka, in English fading into Russian translation] And so, the final step of the Atlantic marathon. It begins, as is customary here, with a change of guard. The defense ministers, heads of military staffs and intelligence services, experts on nuclear planning, hand over the baton, as it were, to the heads of the diplomatic services. For Secretary of State Shultz, and he is a noticeable figure here, the day has come for him to bid farewell to the NATO club. This is the last meeting in which he will participate. However, it was the first time that West German Defense Minister Manfred Woerner, who headed the NATO headquarters, appeared in the role of chairman. Moreover, an anniversary is not far off: the 40th anniversary of the formation of this bloc.

I will scarcely be sinning against the truth if I assert that the nature of the present meeting was determined by a different factor, a much more weighty and palpable factor: the new and far-reaching Soviet peace initiative, announced in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech from the lofty UN rostrum. This was an event, I would remind you, which took place right on the eve of the Brussels conference. George Shultz, who witnessed that speech, flew here straight from New York and gave his colleagues exhaustive information about it.

In brief, the moment of truth has arrived, just as a litmus paper will show who is for and who is against disarmament. Did our opponents in the West expect it and, the important thing, is their reaction constructive? The questions are logical ones. I would not like to give an unambiguous, standard answer to them. However, the overall impression is this: We should not yet expect any identical steps on NATO's part. The Harmel military-political doctrine [Harmel report 1967] called for NATO to maintain a firm stance on those types of armaments in which the United States and its allies have the advantage. For example, in a brochure specially published here, Classical Weapons in Europe, the facts clearly overemphasize our numerical advantage in tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery. In the section on combat aircraft the NATO men have scrupulously included such flying apparatus as the MiG-15, MiG-17 and An-12. The juggling with the facts is obvious. I would note that this fact does not mean that within these walls there were no new notes worthy of attention at all to be heard. The participants in the alliance closely link progress in East-West dialogue with the changes taking place in the USSR and in other socialist countries.

All the same, it is interesting to hear the opinion of those to whom our proposal is directly addressed.

[Woerner, identified by caption, speaking in English fading into Russian translation] I think that this is progress which inspires optimism. It is a very important step in the right direction and we sincerely welcome the statement made in the UN by General Secretary Gorbachev. Of course, after the reduction that has been

announced the advantage will still remain on your side. However, we now consider that it is important to begin talks in Vienna on conventional security, I am talking about reductions in conventional weapons. It is necessary to try to reach agreement on mutually agreed and balanced reductions. We must reach agreement on the limits of equal ceilings for the two sides on conventional weapons so that neither side will have the possibility to make an attack on the other. Both groupings should possess weapons ensuring only defense, as NATO has. I think, however, that you are on the right track. It would be most desirable if you were to continue it. Let us get on with drawing up and agreeing at the negotiating table a document which will end up as mutually acceptable and will rely on the reliable basis of being verifiable.

[Mazheyka] It is interesting whether NATO is ready for serious talks with us this year.

[Woerner] Yes, we have a very great interest in such talks on conventional stability. In our view they present an opportunity to achieve a more stable balance of armed forces in Europe, to raise the level of stability and thus to increase the security of all European countries. [end recording]

[Kalyagin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, now I would ask you to bring us back.

[Shishlin] Well, I like to see a correspondent of Gostele-radio working so energetically. Although he laid out so much of the old straw, of course, before saying that there was something positive there. So, I think that my criticism refers, to a certain extent, to him, since in the NATO Council statement...

[Kalyagin] Just like the whole of our press.

[Shishlin] I would not wish to be so arrogant as to say that. The NATO council statement, of course, clearly is moving towards the ideas which have been put forward by the USSR, by Soviet diplomacy and Soviet foreign policy. And to view the West's position now as a sort of frozen, quite routine and traditional position would be incorrect. Certainly, the West is moving in our direction slower than we would like, this is so. But movement has begun.

[Kalyagin] Would you like to say something, Viktor Pavlovich?

[Karpov] I would like to say that in the things the Woerner said one could hear the same motifs, or similar ones to those that I spoke of, on the aims of the talks to reduce troops and armaments in Europe; and this interchange of aims and premises, if one can so express it, before the start of the talks instills a certain degree of hope that during these talks it will be possible to avoid engaging in long, fruitless, wordy disputes, and immediately begin discussing specific ways to achieve these aims. That is, to set specific aims: in the first stage the

elimination of the imbalances and asymmetries between the two blocs, and then deep reductions on the basis of making the alliances' armed forces increasingly defensive in character. From this point of view I think that Mazheyka was right to note that there are still certain (?obstacles).

[Shishlin] I think that the translation was not quite exact; there was the fanciful expression "conventional stability."

[Kalyagin] He was speaking about stability in conventional weapons.

[Shishlin] So, it is quite simple.

[Kalyagin] Well, this really does inspire hope.

I must read out once more to the end the question from Nikolay Nikolayevich Kolesov, who took offense with me, for solution. I read out his first question, and therefore the answer was not the right one. I will read it out in full: Comrade Gorbachev said at the UN that the only obstacle to leaving for abroad is secrets. What must a person do who has no connection with secrets and who is refused a trip to a capitalist country on official business? What mechanisms are there to defend him?

[Bovin] That is a completely different question.

[Shishlin] Official business, so to speak....

[Bovin] It is up to the management. If the management does not consider it necessary to send him on an official business trip, what have Gorbachev and human rights got to do with it?

[Shishlin] Absolutely [word Indistinct]....

[Bovin] These are purely, so to speak, official business matters. So, the question does not relate, so to speak, to the problem which we are examining here. I should also like very much to go off on official business—I would like to go and serve in Honolulu, so for some reason the management will not send me on official business to Honolulu, so what am I supposed to do about it now? I do not know.

[Shishlin] But it is possible that there are, perhaps, some cases where people are justly offended, but....

[Kalyagin] [passage indistinct due to interruption with previous speaker]...but it is difficult for us to answer such a question here, because we do not know the essence....

[Karpov] There is also the necessity, for business purposes, of the trip, or not.

[Kalyagin] Of course, you must solve this locally, comrades.

You know, very many questions have come in connection with Afghanistan, very many. Our people are truly worried by this problem. They are worried at the level of whether we are doing enough to help the situation in Afghanistan to stabilize; they are worried at the level of where we shall manage to complete our withdrawal of forces on time, in connection with the fact that a very complex situation is still persisting there, and of whether we are reacting sufficiently energetically to the disruption of the agreements on the part of Pakistan and the United States. There are very many questions. I will not read them out. They all revolve, approximately, around these problems. But one comrade even asks that Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin should talk in greater detail about his latest trip to Afghanistan. Therefore, I think that you, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, ought probably to start answering these questions.

[Bovin] Well, I can try, of course. Now, pay attention, comrades. It is very characteristic: out of all the regional issues which exist in the world, it is not by chance that Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke precisely because he understands the situation full well. Of course we all think here of Nicaragua, Angola, and Cambodia, but for our people and for all of us, of course the problem of Afghanistan occupies first place among these regional conflicts. It is our pain, our misfortune, and our anxiety; therefore it is no coincidence that there are an enormous number of questions. Of course, the situation there in Afghanistan is critical. We are getting out of there, and I am certain—I hope and am certain—that we shall be out of there, of Afghanistan, on 15 February, as was said in Geneva. Now, in the time until 15 February, as far as I understand, our main policy, the policy of our government, is to do the maximum possible, together with the Afghan Government, to guarantee, so to speak, the main changes which will occur there, so that they might occur in the most painless form possible.

For this, of course, some form of coalition power, coalition government, and some sort of compromise between the present political regime and the opposition are necessary. This is, of course, a most difficult political question, and some—let us say it straight out—figures with the highest diplomatic skill are definitely necessary here, in order to do this.

And look, now we are beginning a spectrum of talks. There have just been talks in Saudi Arabia, at the beginning of December, which we conducted with the Peshawar opposition, with Professor Rabbani; and these talks will be continued. Evidently, talks are due with Islamabad. Of course, even to expect here that Bhutto will change Islamabad's policy substantially—that will not happen, apparently. But all the same, one can hope for some kind of more considered attitude to Afghanistan's obligations under the Geneva agreements. Unfortunately, Pakistan has not stopped its work with the camps of those mujahedin, the formation of those detachments and the supplies of U.S. arms and other arms.

All this is so. Well now, we are doing what we can, so to speak, to impede that; but, after all, one must look at things soberly, and we cannot always impede that there. In any event, we are doing, and shall do, everything we can and everything which is incumbent on us to do to help implement what in Kabul they call the policy of national reconciliation. But this whole problem is very (?intricate) there. And as I have already said, this political trapeze, so to speak, does not always lead to success, it does not always lead to success. In any event, we hope that the situation there will ease relatively painlessly. That is all that can be said now. But, of course, it is very hard, very hard, to foresee now specifically what will happen there after the 15th, and I would not even risk doing so.

[Kalyagin, turning to Karpov and Shishlin] What would you like to add?

[Shishlin] They did not prove....

[Bovin interrupts] You see, precisely at the level of what I was saying, Nikolay—forgive me, I'm finishing—well, it is precisely at this level that the proposal which Mikhail Sergeyevich submitted—at the UN, to be exact—was moving. Firstly, they are to cease fire throughout the territory of Afghanistan beginning 1 January; secondly, stop supplies of arms to all the warring parties, also from 1 January; then to reach agreement with the UN on introducing some kind of UN contingent there; and then, an international conference on Afghanistan.

[Shishlin] And a peace corps.

[Bovin] Yes, and a UN peace corps. Here is a set of proposals heading in that very direction, in order to ensure this, so to speak, painless change of political regimes there and the formation of some kind of coalition power structure. Unfortunately, the Peshawar emigres have already rejected these proposals; but, so to speak, some sort of talks are still continuing there and will continue. Well, all the same, we hope that it will be possible to step up the role of the United Nations. That can also have some influence on the situation in Afghanistan, which, I repeat, remains critical.

[Shishlin] But no, strictly speaking, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, I wanted precisely to recall what our present position is, and I think you have already spoken about the meetings which are going on with the Peshawar Seven. This is also one of the channels to influence that situation, in order that it might develop, as far as possible, in a more or less balanced manner. What now? Do you suggest that I answer these questions? [Shishlin turns to Kalyagin and brandishes a sheet of paper]

[Kalyagin] There are just a few questions there which have been put to you individually; I see that Aleksandr Yevdgeniyevich also has some.

[Bovin] I've also got some on Afghanistan.

[Shishlin] I shall answer very briefly. Comrade Sayfulin, Damir Mirzeyevich, a scientific worker from Moscow, asks me how I understand the term, "the Marxist-Leninist approach." Firstly, I understand the Marxist-Leninist approach as one which has not gone cold, when it is not looking to the 19th century for answers to the questions which mankind is confronted with on the threshold of the third millennium.

[Bovin] It is a scientific approach, so to speak.

[Shishlin] It is a scientific approach, one which is developing. Secondly, I believe that the Marxist-Leninist approach presupposes a search for an answer which would meet the interests of the working people and accord with the interests of people, the interests of mankind. And thirdly, it is an approach which must be directed at attaining noble, humane goals and use appropriate methods.

Now, here is a very interesting question from Comrade Viktor Sergeyevich Ivanov: From your first contribution today it appears that a Politburo decision does not need to be confirmed by a Supreme Soviet decision. Later you spoke out for the principle of a law-governed state. Here you are clearly contradicting yourself, is that no so?

Well, to tell the truth, I do not see my contradiction there. I cannot imagine every speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev intended for the UN or some foreign state having to get the approval of the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet approves the general direction of foreign policy, the political strategy. But I think that specific, practical steps are elaborated by the authors of the various speeches and his colleagues. I have already said that this decision was passed on the basis of a great amount of work by our departments and specialists and, of course, the country's top political leadership.

[Kalyagin] And in the future, seemingly, it will be discussed in the Supreme Soviet.

[Shishlin] Of course. [words indistinct as all speak at once] Sergey Goncharov from Minsk asks whether the developing countries have large debts to our country. The comrades may correct me on this but I will cite a few figures. I cannot vouch for their absolute accuracy, but the figures are approximately correct. Somewhere between \$60 billion and \$70 billion—that is the developing countries' indebtedness to us, of all the developing countries. And so, when I have had occasion to speak on U.S. television they say: You have about \$62 billion owed to you, but the total indebtedness is over \$1 trillion.

[Kalyagin] One trillion 200 billion dollars!

[Shishlin] One trillion 200 billion dollars. So why are you proposing that we [meaning the United States] part with a trillion-plus dollars while you are losing only such a

small amount on this matter? I have also had occasion to reply to this question and I think that Mikhail Sergeyevich did not put the matter in such a way as to say: Here is the complete recipe for you, the only recipe. Let us just follow it and the illness will be cured. No, it is an invitation to give the matter some thought, an invitation to seek answers. It is our idea of one possible approach to solving this problem. But this is far from being the sole way.

[Kalyagin] Do you have some questions addressed to you, personally?

[Bovin] The following question is addressed to me personally? It is not particularly related to our theme today but it is still interesting. Anver Khurshut from Moscow asks: The success of Gorbachev's international policy is obvious but the interethnic conflict in the Transcaucasus is not dying down. Would it not be a good idea to organize a roundtable meeting of Christian and Muslim religious leaders and a subsequent joint visit by them to the sensitive hot spots? Is this not the only path to people's hearts and minds?

I do not think that this idea is constructive because the complications which have now arisen in the Transcaucasus are grounded not on religious contradictions, but on different things. And so I do not think so. Of course, if these leaders meet, no great harm will be done and there may even be some advantage. But I do not see any fundamental recipe here to solve the complicated problems that have arisen in the Transcaucasus. It is not a matter of Christians and Muslims; it is a different problem and it would seem that it needs to be solved in a different way.

[Shishlin] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, in general I must note that both (Shaykh Khulislam) in Baku and the Catholics have taken a very balanced and even-handed position and they are trying to contribute what they can to quell, in some way, these passions. But I do not consider that the idea suggested by the comrade on this question is totally pointless. But you are right that the solution to the problem must be sought in a broader political context.

[Bovin] That is precisely my opinion.

[Kalyagin] Messages are continuing to come in expressing the opinions of individual comrades who doubt that we should undertake such large unilateral reductions. Lieutenant Colonel, retired, Comrade Stepan Tikhonovich Metalnikov asks will this reduction in aircraft lead to NATO-bloc superiority in aviation. Are we committing mistakes? We already had a reduction in aircraft in the 1960's and this had a negative effect on the training of flying personnel. Former military airman Comrade Shimochenko from Kiev reminds us that Comrade Khrushchev carried out a reduction of 1.2 million [presumably men] but NATO after that once again did not make any reductions.

Well, on the whole we have already given a reply to all of these questions but it is clear that they really worry many of our people.

[Karpov] So many questions have accumulated here to which as yet there are no practical answers. These answers can be obtained only later, after the reductions have been carried out, as well as the reorganization of the structure of the Armed Forces of the USSR and the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty. Therefore, of course, I understand those who ask such questions. But we are working to ensure that the structure of the USSR's Armed forces will give the opportunity to provide the maximum security for the USSR with minimum expenditure. This work is underway, and part of this work is to cut the fat that we have accumulated over many years.

[Kalyagin] Do you have some questions to you individually, too?

[Karpov] I have a question here. I do not know if it is to me personally; it is rather to all of us. Aleksandr Ivanovich Kuznetsov from Kaliningrad asks: Are the comrades conducting the program now competent to discuss the methods of making reductions in the USSR Armed Forces? I consider this no more and no less than ideological treachery. What they are saying is having a pernicious effect not only on the Armed Forces, but also on the whole Soviet Union. I think that this is neither the time nor the place for them to engage in a discussion of reductions.

There we have an angry reaction. Well, Comrade Kuznetsov has his own opinion. And we who are conducting the broadcast believe that the questions which are being discussed here are of concern to all Soviet people and that every Soviet person not only has the right but is even obliged to give thought to these questions and to seek replies to them.

[Kalyagin] Several comrades ask what we think about the United States starting to produce new invisible aircraft—they mean the Stealth bombers—at a time when arms reductions are underway. And they are interested in how our civil defense is looking in connection with this.

[Karpov] There are two questions there. As far as the invisible aircraft are concerned, this is a tendency which is manifest in the United States, a tendency to create the strategic potential to make the first strike by various means, both by strengthening the missile part of the strategic triad and by creating such aircraft capable of breaching the Soviet air defenses. Of course, the creation of such types of weapons does nothing to facilitate the success of the talks on reducing strategic offensive weapons which we are conducting with the United States. But during these talks there is, of course, discussion of all types of strategic armaments including strategic bombers. Therefore, all types of strategic armaments must be the subject of accords to reduce them, including those aircraft mentioned by the comrade in his question.

Therefore, the potentials are discussed collectively and will be subjected to reductions in the aggregate when, naturally, an accord is reached.

[Kalyagin] Here is another question from Oleg Borisovich Plyuzhnikov, a Moscow engineer. It is, perhaps, not directly connected with Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech at the United Nations, but it is directly connected with our country's foreign policy and is very topical; so I think that it is worth reading. Has there been any change in the USSR's position on the question of the territorial dispute with Japan? And was this question discussed during Comrade Shevardnadze's visit to Japan?

[Karpov] Yes, this question was discussed during Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze's visit to Japan. The Japanese position is to demand the return—as they put it in Japan—of four South Kuriles islands. Our position is that such a way of posing the question is not right. At the same time, we are prepared, within the discussion of the problem of concluding a peace treaty with Japan, to discuss all problems which arise in this connection, including the problem connected with Japan's territorial claims. But this does not mean that we are prepared to agree to handing these islands over to Japan. We are prepared, however, to discuss this problem within the framework of other problems connected with the conclusion of a peace treaty.

[Bovin] This is precisely where the change lies in our position, because until very recently we simply stated to the Japanese that no such problem existed in our relations and we did not discuss it. But now we have begun to discuss it, and this is some sort of rather substantial change in our position. Of course, it is necessary to discuss it.

[Karpov] Of course. There must be a dialogue.

[Bovin] I have this question here: I would like to know which of the recent U.S. Presidents has spoken from the UN rostrum, asks Irina Aleksandrovna Milovina from Moscow. All U.S. Presidents, starting from the moment when the United Nations was set up, have without fail spoken there because it is in the United States; they do not have far to go and it is the duty of the host country, its obligation. They have all spoken at the United Nations and more than once. And they have all raised there all questions of world development as they understand them.

[Kalyagin] Comrade Mikhaylov from Moscow angrily states that political observers present the reductions in the Army as a peace-creating act, even though it is evident that the resources will go toward creating newer weapons. And if this is not so, where will these resources and equipment be directed to?

[Karpov] Well, where to? Well, for example, at present a reduction is being implemented in medium- and shorter-range missiles. So we already have experience in using

the launch installations of SS-20 missiles for peaceful purposes. We have reached agreement with a West German firm specializing in the production of heavy cranes to produce large cranes at the Odessa works on the basis of the chassis of the launcher for SS-20 missiles. These cranes are being produced. They have already gone into use in our national economy and will be exported to Western Europe.

[Kalyagin] Would you like to reply to another personal question, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich?

[Bovin] Yes, I have such a question here. It is also slightly off our theme. Please explain the situation in Iran. It was recently reported that prisoners had been shot recently in Iran. What was the reason for that?

Well, in general, an Iran there has been and still is quite an internecine struggle. On the one hand, this concerns relations in the leading circles of Iran, because recently there were rather persistent reports that the Iranian prime minister was under house arrest. Apart from that, the more radical opposition, the Iranian mujahedin, are active. They were the ones in question here. They were repressed there and in this case, shot. In general, Iran is undergoing the rather complicated process of transferring from war to peace and, in general, I can even predict that (?there may be) further political convulsions in Iran, particularly since Khomeyni will probably soon leave the political arena.

[Kalyagin] Unfortunately, I must interrupt you since the time allowed for our broadcast is coming to an end. Very many questions were raised and unfortunately we have been able to answer only a proportion, but I think the majority, of these questions. We shall seek an opportunity to reply to the rest. But this is all quite understandable—such an abundance of questions, since Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech embraces the most varied aspects of international life and, moreover, in my opinion it reflects the fact that the Soviet people are showing increasing interest in our foreign policy and in international affairs in general. In connection with this, I would like to answer this question from Moscow driver Vladimir Fedorovich Kovalev: What has been achieved by this program in general, and everything that you are trying to prove? We are not trying to prove anything. We are replying to your questions, esteemed viewers, and the abundance of these shows, I think, that this program enjoys your interest.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the viewers for the interest which they have displayed in our program and for their participation. Until we meet again on the air, goodbye, comrades.

Gerasimov Hails S.W. Africa 'Breakthrough'
*LD2912144688 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT
29 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman described agreements on a settlement in the South West of Africa, which were recently

signed at the U.N. headquarters in New York, as a breakthrough in defusing the conflict in the region.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

He said that the agreements are an important step to Namibia's independence—a lofty goal for which Namibia patriots led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) have been struggling for decades.

This struggle, Gerasimov continued, has enjoyed extensive support from the peoples of the world, including the Soviet Union. For many years issues connected with the granting of independence to the Namibian people and with the extirpation of one of the last vestiges of colonialism have been in the focus of attention of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole because this international organization is responsible for the territory until it gains independence.

The Security Council is currently preparing for the practical implementation of its Resolution 435 in accordance with which a U.N. plan providing for the dispatch of a U.N. group to Namibia to give assistance during the transitional period will begin to be carried out from April 1, 1989.

The large-scale U.N. operation, which will involve monitoring the withdrawal of South African forces and ensuring conditions for elections in Namibia, will call for the participation of a U.N. military contingent and U.N. civilian staff as well as for considerable material resources, Gerasimov said.

It is essential to work for a rational use and possible saving of U.N. resources, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The Soviet Union believes that the Namibia operation should be performed so as to enable the United Nations fully to discharge its tasks in Namibia and so as to make sure that the Namibian people will win genuine national independence on the basis of a free expression of will and without any outside interference.

UN Endorses Control Mission Group in Angola
LD2412023788 Moscow TASS in English 0005 GMT
24 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

Consultations of the United Nations Security Council were held on Friday. The composition of the United Nations Control Mission in Angola set up at the request of Angola and Cuba was endorsed. The mission formed at the request of the governments of the two countries will be controlling the pullback to Angola's northern

districts and stage-by-stage and complete withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in the framework of the settlement of the situation in the southwest of Africa.

Cuban troop withdrawal is to be started on April 1, 1989 simultaneously with the beginning of the process of Namibia's decolonisation. The control mission will include representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, the Congo, Czechoslovakia, India, Jordan, Norway, Spain, and Yugoslavia. Brazil Brigadier General Pericles Ferreira Gomes was appointed head of the control mission.

'International Review' on Peace Processes
PM2912145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Zafesov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] The last few pages of the calendar....

One more week, and the world will begin a new year. It will begin with fresh hopes, plans, and dreams. In our fast-moving age, when time seems to be condensed to the utmost, it is hard to believe that the year which is approaching its end had so many events packed into it. Reviewing the year that has passed, it is impossible to avoid one main conclusion: Peace on the planet has become more reliable. Of course, the world community has a lot more to do for a safe future. Nevertheless, it will not be wrong to claim that people's moods, both here and abroad, have become more optimistic, and this is due primarily to the fact that, after many decades of confrontation, it is easier for politicians to find a common language and they are trying to elaborate mutually acceptable solutions.

The generations to come will, of course, record in world history the credit due to the Soviet-U.S. dialogue which gave mankind the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. I am convinced that, for many more years to come, it will be cited as an example of the realistic approach and a demonstration of goodwill. Nevertheless, no matter how great a landmark this might be along the path to a safe world, it beckons mankind further, toward the consolidation of the achievements and the opening up of new frontiers for ensuring the security of all countries and peoples.

In this context, it is hard today to imagine anything more impressive than M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session in early December. Yes, chronologically speaking, it is not part of last week's events. But the scope of the proposals and the sincere concern for universal peace keep the attention of world public opinion focused on this speech.

In my view, the aid and solidarity rendered by dozens of countries and many thousands of people in response to the tragic events in Armenia offered graphic proof of how attitudes toward us Soviet people have changed.

They have become different, more benevolent. I think that the main reason for this is the fact that people are starting to trust us. It is not easy to gain this trust. It demands not only consistency in policy but also consideration, openness, realism, and comprehensive allowance for the interests of states and peoples, of the working masses. These are the typical features of Soviet foreign policy in the recent past.

The New Thinking Is Making Headway

The changing world is abandoning many concepts of the past, including some which have become time-honored aphorisms. Hardly any serious politician today would bring himself to utter something like "Let him who desires peace prepare for war," or "War is the continuation of politics by other means." The world community is faced with the alternative: Either survive together, or perish together. The existence of a vast nuclear arsenal and other means of destruction in the world persistently dictates to all the sole way out—disarmament.

In 3 weeks' time it will be 2 years since the Soviet Union proposed a program for building a nuclear-free world. A real turnabout from commitment to superweapons to the more moderate principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense is occurring before our very eyes and with our active participation.

Sensible compromise and the ability to make realistic allowances for mutual interests are becoming a yardstick for the art of diplomacy. I would not like to get into any arguments with our opponents as to who has done how much, but I think that it would be fair to note that the Soviet foreign policy constantly gives an impetus to the positive development of relations in the international community. Nor are we afraid to announce plans for unilateral disarmament.

Thus, in agreement with its Warsaw Pact allies, the Soviet Union announced at the United Nations that six tank divisions will be withdrawn from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary by 1991 and disbanded. Airborne assault and a number of other combined units and other units will also be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces stationed there, including assault crossing units with their armaments and combat hardware. Soviet forces in these countries will be reduced by 50,000 men, and armaments by 5,000 tanks. Following the major removal of tanks, military units will acquire a structure of an unambiguously defensive nature.

There will be a simultaneous reduction in the numerical strength of troop personnel and the quantity of arms in the European part of the USSR. In total, our Armed Forces will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft. Over the next 2 years it is planned to reduce the numbers of our troops in the Asian part, and also those who are temporarily on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic at the request of the Mongolian Government.

These tersely laconic computations, delivered from the UN rostrum, literally rocked the world. The Soviet leader introduced a new term into the political vocabulary by declaring a transition "from the economics of armament to the economics of disarmament." And as a whole the world assessed this on its merit.

Let me cite a few press statements made on just one day, 19 December. London's THE TIMES: "Gorbachev has yet again proved himself to be a profound dialectician. He has compelling reasons—economic and strategic—to want force reductions." In the United States, THE WASHINGTON POST published an article by Democrat Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee: "The announcement of major Soviet force reductions by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has altered the political landscape upon which the United States and its allies must formulate their military posture and NATO arms control proposals in the months and years ahead." Mary Kaldor wrote in the London journal NEW STATESMAN that a game called "deterrence" has been played out since the end of World War II, and went on to say: "By offering to cut conventional forces in Europe unilaterally, Gorbachev has broken the vicious circle of the fantasy game. He has played a series of moves which, with a little bit of help from public opinion in the West, may undermine the basic rules."

Readers have probably noticed that the above quotations contain not just a high appraisal of the latest Soviet proposals but also an expectation of some steps by the Atlantic alliance. In my view, this is another sign of the times. The West has still not completely abandoned its attempts to use propaganda means to muffle the mighty voice of our initiatives, but the dominant line in commentaries and assessments is a call to political and public circles there to take specific steps in response.

The aforementioned WASHINGTON POST writes that "an appropriate analysis of M.S. Gorbachev's initiatives also requires a candid self-appraisal by NATO of its present posture." By the way, the selfsame newspaper calculated that the reductions proposed by the Soviet leaders could give NATO 7 extra days to prepare for attack by the Soviet Union... "provided the cuts are fully and honestly implemented." Let us not reproach the author for the reservations without which he obviously cannot manage. But as regards the 7 days—there is something curious! One does not have to be a military strategist to realize their importance. Actually, let me nevertheless say once more that we have not intended and do not intend to attack anybody. At the same time, I would like to tell those who are trying to interpret our goodwill as a sign of weakness, as concessions forced by pressure from the West: The Soviet Union will be able to ensure its reliable defense.

The need for disarmament is a commandment of the time, a rigid and implacable demand of reality, and it can be implemented only through joint efforts. A choir

always has soloists, maybe a duet or a quartet of singers who sing the basic melody, but a full impression of the composition can be given only by the entire company, in this case the company comprising the world community.

The Soviet Union strives to develop and improve relations with all countries and peoples. Evidence of this was provided by the Soviet-Japanese communique adopted during the visit to Japan by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister. It represented a significant step forward in Soviet-Japanese relations, which, until recently, created a feeling of some dissatisfaction in the USSR and Japan alike.

Prime Minister N. Takeshita confirmed the invitation to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to pay an official visit to Japan. E.A. Shevardnadze declared that M.S. Gorbachev would be prepared to pay a visit to Japan within the context of a general improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations. Accord was reached on carrying out preparatory work for the visit in question, the focal point in this work being the meetings between the USSR and Japanese foreign ministers.

The Soviet side invited Prime Minister N. Takeshita of Japan to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.

In addition to the fact that the foreign ministers are beginning to act as a preparatory committee for the summit meeting, at the same time a mechanism is being instituted for the permanent examination of the question of a peace treaty between our countries which will provide a framework for discussing the entire package of problems perturbing each of the countries. E.A. Shevardnadze noted at a news conference that the peace treaty is a most complex package of political, economic, geographical, and many other questions.

Assessing the results of the Tokyo talks, Japan's Foreign Minister S. Uno noted that they were consultations useful for both sides.

A lot of important work lies ahead. It is that much more gratifying that a step has been taken in this direction.

Knots Beginning To Unravel

The improvement of the international climate as a whole has also had a favorable effect on the solution of regional conflicts. Our planet is not large enough to prevent troubles or tension in one region having a negative effect on the world community's affairs. Since they are all different and have their own specific features and complications, the settlement of regional conflicts demands special patience, the absence of prejudice, and—of course—the presence of goodwill.

A tripartite agreement was signed 22 December between Angola, Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa [RSA], together with a bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba, on the settlement of the situation in southwest Africa. Let us note the constructive role played by the United States as mediator in the attainment of this objective.

Cuba's National Assembly of the People's Government (parliament) approved the signing of the said documents, thus reaffirming its goodwill in resolving the settlement problem (the bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba provides for a stage-by-stage withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, which is planned to be completed by 1 July 1991).

The Angolan Government is fully resolved to strictly observe the agreements. This was declared in New York by Angola's Foreign Minister Van Dunem. At the same time, he called on the United States and the RSA to cease interfering in Angola's internal affairs, especially by aiding National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] formations. In the minister's opinion, this would offer opportunities for establishing new relations between Angola and the United States.

International commentators drew attention to the words by RSA Foreign Minister Botha, who declared that the RSA cannot suddenly break its "friendly ties" with UNITA. At the same time, he admitted that any assistance to that organization "runs contrary to the provisions we have signed and would constitute a breach of the agreements.... We have pledged not to do this and will not act in this way."

At the request of the governments of Angola and Cuba, the UN Security Council unanimously decided to set up under its leadership a UN mission to monitor the observance of the Angolan-Cuban agreement.

Our country is making its weighty contribution to the peace process in this region. Soviet people welcomed with gratification the successful conclusion of the difficult and protracted talks on a settlement of the situation in southwest Africa.

The documents adopted pave the way toward the region's peaceful future and the fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on the granting of independence to Namibia. An opportunity is emerging to demolish the last bastion of colonialism in Africa. This prospect is welcomed by many countries, but it is impossible to disregard the difficulties which lie ahead.

The outlines of a settlement in the Near East, where a regional conflict has been raging for so many years, are also beginning to emerge. The chairman of the PLO Executive Committee is expressing readiness to embark on talks with Israel within the framework of an international conference on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, having declared the desire to

coexist with Israel in conditions of peace and security and having condemned terrorism in all its forms. It is a pity that the UN General Assembly session sitting on the Palestine question had to be transferred from New York to Geneva: The United States refused to issue an entry visa to Y. 'Arafat. As a matter of fact, Washington was quick to realize that this step was wrong and tried to correct it by entering into direct contact with the PLO, thereby incurring the serious displeasure of Israel.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia continues, and this is helping to normalize the situation in this region. Briefly speaking, the knots of many regional conflicts are not as tight as they were. Now it is a matter of untangling them completely. I am convinced that this is not a groundless hope. The situation in the world favors it.

Moscow-Yerevan TV Program on Quake Aid
LD2912171788 Moscow TASS in English 1549 GMT
29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—Soviet journalists and their foreign counterparts, accredited in the Soviet Union and present at the Press Centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow today, were given an unusual opportunity to talk to leading officials of various ministries, departments and public organizations of Armenia in Yerevan, to ask questions and receive answers.

When declaring a Moscow-Yerevan TV bridge open, Suren Mavisakalyan, editor-in-chief of the popular science programme of Armenian Television, said that the people of Soviet Armenia had been shaken twice of late: As a result of the recent devastating earthquake and its tragic effects and later on due to the unprecedented manifestation of benevolence, compassion and mercy on the part of not only Soviet people but of the whole world as well.

Yuriy Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, pointed out that the unity and cohesion of all Soviet republics and of all Soviet people had manifested themselves on these tragic days with particular force.

Armenians and all residents of Soviet Armenia, he went on to say, are deeply grateful to the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and to the Soviet Government for the prompt and extraordinary measures in relief to the earthquake-hit areas.

We all were profoundly moved upon learning that Mikhail Gorbachev had interrupted his important visit to New York and postponed visits to Cuba and Britain in order to arrive in Armenia and personally to acquaint himself on the spot with the course of rescue operations.

The earthquake-hit areas have received a huge amount of relief supplies from abroad, added Anatoliy Mkrtchayn, Armenian foreign minister. Medicines, medical equipment, warm clothes, money orders and many other things came to the republic from 97 countries.

Many journalists inquired what is being done for the people who sustained injuries and were disabled by the earthquake. Ursula Pogosyan, Armenian deputy minister of health, said all quake victims were given the necessary medical aid and many of them are still in hospitals and clinics. In coordination with the USSR Ministry of Health, a rehabilitation centre is being set up for those disabled by the earthquake. It is also planned to build a factory to produce prosthetic devices. Both the rehabilitation centre and the factory will be located on Armenian territory.

In answer to the question whether the huge scope of destruction caused by the earthquake was the consequence of substandard quality of construction, Varkes Artsryni, chairman of the Armenian State Building Committee, pointed out that a competent commission with the participation of the best experts from all over the Soviet Union is now at work. Therefore one should not be in a hurry to draw conclusions, he said. Sergey Grigoryan, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said large scale geological and seismological research had been launched in the disaster area immediately after the earthquake and was being conducted up to now. The purpose of the research is to predict new possible earth jolts in the area and to notify the population in time.

Usik Arutyunyan, Armenian interior minister, emphasized that no violations of the public order had been registered in Yerevan and throughout the republic in recent days. There were no activities on an inter-ethnic basis either. Thirty-six people had been arrested for stealing public and personal property in the earthquake-hit area.

However, the minister pointed out, the rare cases of marauding do not reflect the true state of affairs. Thousands of people turn over to the authorities things, money and valuables found under the ruins. Twenty-five million roubles worth of money and valuables have been returned in Leninakan alone.

Armenian Foreign Minister Speaks
LD2912162188 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT
29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—"The Armenian earthquake called forth an unprecedented surge of compassion and solidarity all over the world", said Armenia's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Mkrtchyan who took part in a television bridge which linked the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Centre with the Armenian capital, Yerevan, today. "To my mind, this has been a result of the awareness of people in various countries that we

all form a single world community", he said. "Besides that the processes of democratisation and widening of glasnost taking place in the USSR opened broad opportunities for communication with foreign countries".

Vast aid came to the quake-stricken areas from abroad, the minister said. Medicines, medical equipment, warm clothing and money orders came from 97 countries. The value of the foreign medical aid alone is assessed at nine million dollars.

"We are deeply grateful to governments, organisations and firms," Anatoliy Mkrtchyan said. "People in various income brackets are among foreign citizens who participated in monetary aid but we equally appreciate their donations. American businessman Armand Hammer, for instance, presented a cheque for one million dollars, while an English girl, apparently saving on her lunches, sent 71 pence. We have been greatly touched by her noble deed. Altogether monetary donations to a sum of over six million foreign exchange roubles have come from abroad by today."

It was also noted during the television bridge that as many as 2,036 foreign specialists worked in the disaster area. They made an invaluable contribution to the rescue of Soviet people. Rescuers from the FRG, medics from the GDR, from Israel, seismologists and geophysicists from the USA, France, Japan, specialists from other countries are now in the quake zone.

Ursula Pogosyan, Armenia's deputy minister of health, said there is no need in medicines any longer. But medical equipment will be needed for the rehabilitation of the injured as well as for hospitals and clinics which will be restored and which will be built. Contacts and consultations with our foreign colleagues will be continued, she said.

Release of 2 French Hostages Reported

LD3012092588 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT
30 Dec 88

[Text] Paris December 30 TASS—Two small French girls, who were held hostage for over a year by a terrorist group operating in Arab countries' territory, were flown by a special plane from Tripoli to an airforce base in Istres, Bouches-du-Rhone Department, late on Thursday.

The girls were set free on the occasion of Christmas. They were taken to a Marseille hospital for thorough medical checkups.

The released French girls aged five and seven were seized in November 1987 with six other citizens of France and Belgium on the yacht off the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip.

Austrian Bureau Promotes East-West Trade

LD2612070288 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT
26 Dec 88

[Text] Vienna December 26 TASS—The present development of the world situation creates new favourable conditions for the expansion of mutually beneficial economic and trade cooperation of states, says a statement of the Austrian Bureau for East-West Trade published in its press bulletin.

The statement pointed out that the economic and foreign trade reform implemented in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries is an important factor promoting the expansion of European cooperation. It forms a basis for creating joint industrial enterprises, cooperating more actively and fruitfully on the markets of third countries and increasing the scope of scientific and technical exchange. This is promoted as well by the normalisation of relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community that paves the way to the development of environmental protection, energy generation and transport projects. The Austrian Bureau for East-West Trade denounced a policy of restrictions and bans hampering the expansion of trade relations between Socialist and capitalist countries.

United States & Canada

Commentator on U.S. Diego Garcia Base
LD3012135688 Moscow TASS in English
1233 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—By TASS military commentator Vladimir Bogachev:

A secret Anglo-American agreement on the construction of military installations on islands in the Indian Ocean, including the Diego-Garcia atoll, was signed in London twenty-two years ago, in December 1966. This atoll was "leased" to the United States contrary to the will of the indigenous population.

Since then the atoll has been turned into a major U.S. military base, into a logistics centre of the U.S. Navy in the Indian Ocean, an important communication complex of the U.S. Armed Forces in the southern hemisphere. Diego-Garcia symbolizes, so to say, the entire U.S. military policy, it is a patent illustration of the American military doctrine's true purpose. The insular U.S. war base, lying thousands of kilometres away from U.S. territory and being as it is Washington's geographic antipode, in now way meets the criteria of a U.S. "defence bulwark".

Back in 1980 Washington unilaterally declared a vast region of the globe, including the part of the Indian Ocean where Diego-Garcia is located, a "zone of its vital interests". In January 1982 the United States set up a joint Central Command (CentCom) to coordinate its armed forces in the region. Operationally subordinated to this command are about 400 thousand servicemen, including the highly mobile 82nd paratrooper and 101st Airborne Divisions. Attached to them are tactical warplanes, strategic bombers, three aircraft-carrier task groups. Heavy weaponry for American combat units, which can be rushed at a minute's notice to adjacent areas of the Indian Ocean, is being stockpiled in several areas of this zone, Diego-Garcia and U.S. warships included.

The Pentagon alleges that Diego-Garcia's task is to "create a foundation for regional military cooperation" and to "ensure the U.S. and its allies access to the petroleum-rich Persian Gulf region". In reality its principal purpose is to "influence" Asian and African states effectively so as to secure "special privileges" for the United States.

U.S. Extension of Territorial Waters Reported
LD2912140888 Moscow TASS in English
1347 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin reports:

The United States has acted to extend its territorial waters to 12 nautical miles from 3 nautical miles. A proclamation of President Reagan taking a working

vacation in California that was published in Los Angeles on Wednesday said that this applied to the 50 states, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the United States Virgin Islands, the northern Mariana Islands and "any other territory or possession over which the United States exercises sovereignty".

The proclamation extended American sovereignty not only over the surface of the ocean, but also over "the airspace over the territorial sea, as well as its bed and subsoil". It said that the step taken by the U.S. was fully in line with the 1982 U.N. convention on the law of the sea and that it would advance the national security and other significant interests of the United States.

President Reagan's decision does not need to be approved by Congress because it does not involve any changes in U.S. legislation.

The president's proclamation said that the move would not affect cruise ships and other merchant vessels on innocent passage through American waters.

China

PRC Foreign Minister Reviews Moscow Visit
OW3012034688 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1155 GMT 29 Dec 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Fesunenko]

[Text] No doubt you remember that PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen recently made an official visit to our country. This is why the publication by the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY of an interview with him at the close of the year is of special interest to us.

In particular, the minister reminded us that in recent years China has invariably spoken out in favor of removing barriers and normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations. As a result of joint efforts, said Qian Qichen, the tendency to remove barriers and solve problems has begun to grow. This process will be continued further.

Touching on the results of his visit to the USSR, the foreign minister announced that the aim of this visit was to conduct a detailed discussion with the Soviet side about the Cambodia problem and to ensure progress of the normalization process of bilateral relations in preparation for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. The visit, in the opinion of the minister, ended with good results and showed that the normalization process in Soviet-Chinese relations has entered a new stage. At the same time, the Chinese minister also noted the differences which still remain between our countries. That is why, in his words, it is necessary to do a great deal of work before the Soviet-Chinese meeting—this time at the highest level.

PRC Journal on Improving Sino-Soviet Ties
PM2912161788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Journal LIAOWANG on USSR-PRC Relations"]

[Text] Beijing, 23 Dec—During his recent visit to the USSR, PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen held talks with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and met with M.S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. It was stated during the talks that the USSR and the PRC need to hold a summit meeting and that one is possible in the first half of next year. The Chinese journal LIAOWANG writes of this in an article devoted to the development of the process of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations.

Citing the words of Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, the journal points out that the holding of a Soviet-Chinese summit depends on progress being made on the Cambodian question. This was, in fact, an important topic at the Moscow talks between the USSR and PRC foreign ministers. The sides agreed to make joint efforts for the speediest just and sensible settlement of the Cambodian problem, and mutual understanding between them on this question was deepened. This promotes the holding of a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

Concerning the need to establish USSR-PRC relations of a new type, LIAOWANG writes that they must, above all, not be relations of confrontation and tension, as they were at a certain stage in the past. At the same time, they also cannot return to the level of the fifties. Postwar history over several decades has shown that Cold War and confrontation have no future and that the Bloc policy cannot be relied upon. The journal goes on to point out that Soviet-Chinese relations of a new type mean the establishment of good-neighborliness based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the organization of economic ties with due regard to equality and mutual advantage.

The journal points out that the Soviet side agreed with this viewpoint.

The PRC foreign minister's talks and meetings in Moscow showed that a new step has been taken on the way to a summit meeting. Qian Qichen invited USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze to pay a visit to the PRC at the beginning of next year. If the talks in Beijing are also successful, the summit meeting may be organized in the very near future, LIAOWANG writes in conclusion.

PRC Accedes to Space Rescue, Liability Pacts
PM2912165588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Deposited"]

[Text] On 20 December 1988 documents on the PRC's accession to the agreement on the rescue of cosmonauts, their return, and the return of objects launched into space

of 22 April 1968 and to the convention on international liability for damage caused by space objects of 29 March 1972 were deposited with the USSR Government.

Tajikistan Trade Accord With PRC Region
LD2912134488 Moscow TASS in English
1337 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Dushanbe December 29 TASS—A Tadzhikistan delegation have returned from Xinjiang Uygur Chinese Autonomous Region with a package of agreements. The Economic Cooperation Council of this region and the Soviet side decided to establish two joint ventures to produce vacuum flasks and computer games at plants in Tadzhikistan, a Soviet Central Asian republic. Some technological equipment will be sent from China. The sides will settle on a barter basis. Part of the Chinese partners' profits will be paid in different Tadzhik products, including domestic refrigerators.

An agreement on the same basis was made between Xinjiang Physical Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and some other organisations with Tadzhik aluminium plant in Tursunzade. The Chinese people will provide and install an automatic control system in this plant in exchange for aluminium.

The delegation returned home with more than just documents. Chinese designers have prepared many patterns of children's clothing which they will offer to Tadzhik trade firms. Xinjiang Uygur Region will make them from Tadzhik fabrics and get textiles as payment for the orders.

Northeast Asia

Kim Yong-nam Speech at Reception for Shevardnadze
LD3012100188 Moscow TASS in English
2225 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Pyongyang December 24 TASS—The USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's current visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is an "important contribution to deeper cooperation and stronger friendship between the two countries", the North Korean foreign minister has said.

A sweeping antiwar campaign is gaining momentum on the international arena, Kim Yong-nam, who is also vice-premier of the Administrative Council, said at a reception in Shevardnadze's honour.

"We set great store by the Soviet Union's efforts to achieve relaxation of international tensions, peace and security in Asia, the Pacific and all over the world", Kim Yong-nam emphasized.

Gorbachev's recent announcement of a unilateral cut in Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 officers and men bears out "the Soviet Union's sincere approach to peace", Kim Yong-nam noted.

Kim Yong-nam criticized the U.S. position for "opposing the trend for relaxation, trying to turn Asia into an area of nuclear arms race and exacerbate the situation in the region by way of consolidating the military alliance with the Japanese reaction".

Kim Yong-nam pointed to the special role the Korean peninsula plays in the U.S. Asia-Pacific strategy.

The speaker confirmed his country's genuine desire for a relaxation of tensions in the peninsula and creating a situation propitious for the reunification of Korea, noting that the Soviet Union supported all the DPRK's initiatives aimed at that goal.

"Now that the problem at issue is the withdrawal of foreign troops from international hotbeds", Kim young-nam continued, "U.S. troops and their nuclear weapons should leave the Korean peninsula".

The Korean foreign minister pledged every effort to promote an all-round development of the traditional Korean-Soviet friendship in the spirit of agreements reached between the Soviet and Korean leaders.

Comparison of Shevardnadze Kim Yong-nam Talks

PM2912135988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 24 December 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on Shevardnadze's 23 December talks with DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, under the general heading "Friendly Meetings," with the item headlined "Confers With Kim Yong-nam" published on page 11 of the 27 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT reveals the following variation:

column 2, seventh paragraph, only sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...fundamentally new level. E.A. Shevardnadze briefed Kim Yong-nam on the Soviet Union's diplomatic and political contacts with leaders of a number of states.

A joint communique... (adding paragraph)

Comparison of Shevardnadze, Kim Yong-nam Speeches

PM2912154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 24 December 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the Shevardnadze and Kim Yong-nam speeches at a 23 December Pyongyang reception. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, under the general heading "Friendly Meetings," with the item headlined "Shevardnadze, Kim Yong-nam Speeches" published on page 13 of the 27 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT reveals the following variations:

page 13, column 1, fifth paragraph, third sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...against the DPRK.

At the same time, as a consequence of the international trend toward reconciliation and detente, the United States is stepping up its attempts to fabricate "two Koreas" by craftier means.

The continuing division... (adding paragraph);

page 13, column 2, second paragraph, first sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...and the Pacific.

Now that the question of the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from regions of international conflicts is being resolved, U.S. troops and nuclear weapons must also be removed from the Korean peninsula.

While viewing the withdrawal of foreign troops as a fundamental condition for resolving other regional conflicts, at the same time the United States is evading the evacuation of U.S. troops from South Korea. This shows that it has no intention of resolving the Korean question by peaceful means.

We advocate that the United States, if it is interested in peace and in Korea's peaceful reunification, abandon its intrigues with regard to creating "two Koreas," take real measures for disarmament, and undertake a dialogue with the DPRK.

An anti-U.S. struggle for the country's independence, democratization, and reunification is vigorously being mounted in South Korea today. The supremacy of U.S. imperialism and the No Tae-u regime are experiencing a serious crisis.

The Korean people will on no account permit the fabrication of "two Koreas" by way of "cross-recognition" and "cross-contacts."

We are convinced that the government and people of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and with a sense of class solidarity, will continue actively supporting our people's great cause of reuniting the motherland.

Our people, with... (adding passage);

page 13, column 2, second paragraph, second sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...CPSU headed by esteemed Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, new... (adding "esteemed Comrade");

page 13, column 2, third paragraph, only sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...every effort to comprehensively deepen and develop... (adding "comprehensively");

page 13, column 2, fifth paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...the DPRK is probably overdue.

It will... (adding "probably");

page 14, column 2, first complete paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: "...why a serious approach and a search for solutions... (adding "approach and a");

page 15, column 1, second paragraph, only sentence, PRAVDA reads: "...be sited in the Asia and Pacific region and that the... (rewording; deleting "Krasnoyarsk").

Near East & South Asia

Pakistan Continues 'Subversive Anti-Afghan' Acts
PM2912122088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report: "Still the Number of Casualties Grows..."]

[Text] Kabul, December—As I was dictating these lines to the editorial office, explosions were rumbling in the city: Extremists from armed opposition detachments were shelling Kabul with rockets. The city tsarandoy [militia] reported that six rocket shells fell on residential districts and there are casualties—one dead and five wounded, including a woman...

...Casualties, casualties, casualties... There seems no end to them in this long-suffering land. Once again ordinary Afghans have to weep for those who have been sacrificed by the arrogance, egotism, and implacability of the armed opposition, which rejects all proposals for a cease-fire as the first step toward creating a situation favorable to the formation of a broad-based coalition government. Once again words of anger and imprecation are spoken here against the killers of innocent people.

It was only recently that the Afghans were weeping for the victims of a pirate attack by terrorists on a passenger transport plane. The AN-32 was flying from Khowst to Kabul by night, as security measures demand. But even that did not save the passengers and crew from death. A woman and three children were among the passengers on board.

There is no end to the stream of Western weapons from Pakistan, weapons that continue to fall into the hands of those Afghans who are prepared to fire on their native land and sky for money. By all appearances the extremist section of the Kabul regime's opponents would like to strengthen its positions in the Afghan provinces and districts. It directs its blows first and foremost against major settlements located near the Afghan-Pakistani border. The bandit formations managed to blockade Khowst. The city's defenders are rebuffing their attempts to seize this district center.

Whatever circumstances may explain the position of the new Pakistani leadership on the Afghan question, the facts give no reason to speak of changes in its policy with regard to its neighbor. Despite the commitments assumed in Geneva, Pakistan is not stopping its subversive anti-Afghan activity. It has become known in Kabul

that the Islamabad authorities have appropriated 23.5 million Pakistani rupees to finance rebel activities in Nangarhar Province, and also to bribe Afghan officials in the provincial organs of power. Moreover, according to competent bodies, some 1,500 members of the Pakistani border militia are taking part in combat operations by opposition detachments in Nangarhar.

Concern is caused by the evidence that the rebels are stepping up armed activity in regions adjacent to the Afghan-Iranian border. Security organs prevented an act of sabotage that, as has been established, the Iranian special services were trying to organize: An explosion was planned at a hotel in Herat City where Afghan refugees arriving from Iran were to be housed.

You would have thought that 10 years' experience of fighting in Afghanistan would have been enough to convince the "irreconcilable" opponents of the regime that strength will always be found to combat strength. It is being found now. That is what happened, for instance, in Samangan Province, where after an operation by government troops the rebels' capacity to conduct active combat operations fell sharply. Common sense suggests another means of resolving intra-Afghan problems—national dialogue. That is the aim of the Soviet proposals on Afghanistan put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly Session. That is the path that Afghanistan's leadership proposes to follow. It is well known that President Najibullah welcomed the meeting between Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, and an Afghan opposition delegation in Saudi Arabia, believing rightly that these talks, which the Afghan leadership helped to prepare, will promote a political settlement of the intra-Afghan conflict.

The Afghan public these days is eagerly discussing the new Soviet proposals on Afghanistan put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session. They meet with approval among various strata of the population, including those who do not always support the state authorities. The local press stresses that the USSR's initiatives open up new horizons in the political, peaceful resolution of the Afghan problem. Commentators believe that a cease-fire by the warring parties from 1 January next year and a simultaneous end to deliveries of weapons to them from abroad, the presence of UN peacekeeping forces in the country for the period of formation of a coalition government, and the urgent convocation of an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan, along with other measures proposed by the Soviet leader, offer a realistic program for establishing peace on Afghan soil.

I talked with Mr Faruqi, a prominent representative of influential trade circles in Afghanistan and joint proprietor of the Omarzay [as published] company:

"The last 10 years," the businessman said, "were not the best time for the development of Afghan trade and industry: Traditional trading ties within the country and with our foreign partners have been broken. We national merchants and industrialists have lost a great deal and are therefore highly committed to the creation of an atmosphere of security and tranquility.

"I assess highly the policy of the USSR and its leader on Afghanistan as it has developed in the course of restructuring in your country. We agree with M.S. Gorbachev's assessment in his speech: If everyone who signed the Geneva agreements had observed them, a settlement could have been completed this year.

"The Soviet troops played a stabilizing role in Afghanistan," my interviewee went on. "The time after their departure promises to be troubled. Of course, it is for the Afghans themselves to resolve the problem of power. But we must do so, without delay. I think a UN peacekeeping contingent could act as a stabilizing factor during the formation of a broad coalition government.

"We know the Soviet leader's proposals come from the heart, and we support them wholeheartedly," Faruqi concluded our conversation.

The conversations I have had in Kabul in recent days show that the majority of Afghans await hopefully the realization of the constructive Soviet initiatives, seeing in them the possibility of decisively moving the pointer of the military-political barometer in Afghanistan to "peacemaking," although at the moment it is still off the "confrontation" end of the scale.

Injuries Reported in Kabul Explosions

LD3012114988 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1130 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Kabul, 30 Dec (TASS)—About 20 people were injured this afternoon as a result of an attack on Kabul by Afghan extremists. A TASS correspondent has been informed by a representative of the capital's security bodies that two missiles—mortar bombs, it is supposed—exploded in the center of the city. [Passage omitted]

Israeli 'Peace Initiative' Criticized

PM3012121188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "Undermining a Settlement"]

[Text] Beirut, 29 Dec—The energetic political offensive mounted by the PLO on the wave of the nationwide uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories, including the proclamation of a Palestinian state at the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council, made the Israeli ruling

circles switch to an all-out defense. Even Tel Aviv's immutable patron—Washington—was forced to make direct contacts with the PLO in Tunis.

However, following the formation of the coalition government of "national unity," Tel Aviv tried to regain the initiative. Information about a new peace initiative that Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir is supposedly preparing in response to the Palestinians' political breakthrough filtered into the local press. Its essence boils down to reviving the provisions of the Camp David agreements in a somewhat modified form. It is, as before, a question of administrative autonomy for the Palestinian population on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, but this time, according to Tel Aviv's scheme, under the auspices of the United States and the USSR, if the latter restores diplomatic relations with Israel.

Together with the intensification of repression against the insurgents, the newspaper AL-NIDA writes, the Israeli authorities have begun looking favorably on the idea of extremist Israeli settlers on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip creating their own ministate there—which would considerably hamper a Near East settlement.

They are also reckoning on once again splitting the Palestinians' ranks and separating the moderates who are ready for a compromise from the "intransigent radicals." Thus, in Damascus two influential Palestinian organizations—the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine—criticized the concessions that they say were made by Y. 'Arafat, the PLO leader. At the same time, the PLO Executive Committee at its session in Baghdad fully approved Y. 'Arafat's policy as being in accordance with the course formulated in Algiers and set up a juridical commission to prepare for the formation of a provisional government.

In response to increasing U.S. and Israeli pressure Y. 'Arafat declared that he rejects Y. Shamir's new proposals aimed at deceiving public opinion. He sharply condemned the Israeli authorities' decision to prohibit money remittances from Palestinians working in the Arab world to their relatives in the occupied territories. These amount to a total of \$800 million a year.

Bahrain Amir Cited on Soviet Ties

PM2912165988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Special correspondent V. Shevchenko dispatch: "Bahrain: Amir's Statement"]

[Text] Manama—The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Bahrain would meet both countries' interests, Shaykh 'Isa ibn Salman al Khalifa, amir of Bahrain, declared at a meeting with Soviet journalists visiting this country for the first time.

These statements by the amir were in full keeping with the constructive spirit in which the Gulf Cooperation Council ninth summit conference, which has ended here, was held.

In the final communique, the Gulf countries advocated the establishment of relations of cooperation and good-neighborliness in the region, as well as noninterference in internal affairs and ensuring freedom of international shipping in the Gulf.

They also advocated the settlement of all regional conflicts by political means.

'Intensive' Mediation Between Syria, Iraq
JN2912195288 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic
28 Dec 88 pp 1, 20

[By Husayn Salamah]

[Text] AL-SIYASAH has learned that the Soviet Union is exerting intensive diplomatic efforts between Baghdad and Damascus to improve relations between the two Arab capitals and treat some of the issues causing conflict between the two countries.

Diplomatic sources have told AL-SIYASAH that through quite diplomatic contacts by Soviet officials who visited Damascus and Baghdad, Moscow has recently sought to decrease the sharpness of conflict between the two countries to achieve a thaw in relations that will reflect positively on some of the proposed solutions to regional issues.

These sources have explained that the Soviets believe that, just as Syrian support for the PLO is important for the establishment of the young Palestinian state, Iraq for its part can make a useful effort on behalf of the Lebanese question.

The sources pointed out that a meeting of Syrians and Iraqis on a minimal level of understanding and coordination will help contribute effectively to the Lebanese and Palestinian questions. It will also help increase opportunities to activate the Iraq-Iran negotiations, which will speed the achievement of a balanced, comprehensive peace in the Arabian Gulf region.

These sources have said that the Soviet efforts parallel Arab efforts, which are made on the basis of achieving some kind of Arab solidarity corresponding to international and regional opportunities that are appropriate for achieving Arab interests.

The sources asserted that Israel's difficult international situation, in view of the international dimension brought to the Palestinian question by the valiant Palestinian uprising, calls for a sincere, unified Arab effort to keep events moving in a direction that will serve the cause and the achievements that have been scored thus far.

The sources said that the Soviet efforts converge with efforts by certain Arab capitals along the same line. They explained that encouraging signs have emerged, such as the Syrian-Egyptian flattery, which is ushering in a restoration of relations between Damascus and Cairo. This will speed up the opportunity to convene the postponed regular Arab summit in Riyadh.

Bessmertnykh Meets Iraq's President Husayn
LD2112233088 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0825 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Baghdad, 21 Dec (TASS)—USSR First Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh was in Baghdad at the invitation of Iraq 18-21 December. He met with Iraqi President S. Husayn.

Conversations were held with T. Aziz, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. An exchange of views took place with W. al-Zahawi and N. Hamdun, under secretaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the meetings, which passed in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere, a wide range of issues pertaining to the state of and prospects for Soviet-Iraqi relations, the situation in the region and a number of topical international problems were discussed. Particular attention was paid to Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the United Nations General Assembly session and their positive effect on the evolution of the international situation.

Having noted with satisfaction the progressive development of many-sided Soviet-Iraqi links, the sides stated that in the current conditions favorable opportunities for making them more dynamic and initiating new spheres of cooperation are expanding. The determining role of political contacts carried out on a regular basis was stressed, and a mutual interest in their intensification was confirmed.

The exchange of views concerning the state of affairs at the Iranian-Iraqi talks concentrated on possibilities of resolving the complex problems that currently divide Iraq and Iran, on the basis of political realism and mutual awareness of the sides' interests. The Soviet side emphasized the importance of the process of talks between Iran and Iraq gathering momentum, being fruitful, and ensuring stable progress along the path leading to the establishment of lasting peace and security in the region. The need to make maximally efficient use of the UN mechanism and of the mediating mission of its secretary general was noted in this context.

While discussing the situation in the Near East, the sides concentrated on the prospects for preparing and convening an international conference on an all-embracing settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict with account being taken, in particular, of the realistic program put forward by the PLO leadership.

The situation that is taking shape in and around Afghanistan has been examined. Emphasis was laid on ensuring a political settlement suitable to all sides. The Iraqi leadership came out in favor of the USSR's course, aimed at further deepening of the process of improving international relations and strengthening trust between states and peoples.

V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Minister Collegium and V.I. Minin, the USSR's ambassador to Iraq took part in the conversations.

Further on Nishanov Middle East Visit

LD2412231788 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1538 GMT 24 Dec 88

[Text] At the invitation of the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AIPU), a delegation from the USSR parliamentary group visited that organization's headquarters in Damascus. The delegation was led by R.N. Nishanov, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium member and first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee. The delegation included A.S. Isayev, a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Forestry, and V.K. Kikendo, a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR.

The schedule for the visit included meetings with the parliamentary groups of Syria, Jordan, and Iraq, which are member of the AIPU, as well as with representatives of the Palestine National Council [PNC]. The delegation was received in these countries at both the parliamentary and the government level. It had meetings with A.Q. Qaddurah, chairman of the People's Council [position as received] Syria and F. al-Shar', Syrian foreign minister.

The delegation met A.H. al-Sa'ih, chairman of the PNC.

Meetings were held in Baghdad with members of the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq, T.Y. Ramadan, first deputy prime minister [position as received] and S. Hammadi, National Assembly chairman.

During talks with a Bouraoui, general secretary of the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union, and other leaders of the AIPU, there was an exchange of views on current international problems and matters of cooperation between Soviet and Arab parliamentarians.

The general secretary of the AIPU expressed profound condolences in connection with the earthquake in the Armenian SSR which resulted in many casualties, and wished the Soviet people success in dealing with the consequences of the tragedy as quickly possible.

The sides stated with satisfaction that international relations, are being marked by the atmosphere of detente, a search for eliminating the seats of tension and achieving a peaceful solution of international problems and regional conflicts in various regions of the world. In

particular, Afghanistan, Namibia, the Persian Gulf, and Cambodia. The sides welcomed the signing of Geneva accords on Afghanistan and expressed the hope that the fulfillment by all participants of the articles of the agreement will bring peace to Afghanistan and ensure the independent development of this country. They gave high appraisal to the initiatives made by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at the session of the U.N. General Assembly, including the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces and armaments, which is regarded as a constructive contribution to strengthening international detente.

Both sides expressed concern over the persisting tensions in the Middle East as a result of the continuing Israeli occupation of Arab lands and repressions by Israeli authorities on occupied territories. Support was expressed for the 1-year-old heroic uprising of the Arab people of Palestine which is a legitimate reaction to the occupation and Israeli repressions.

The sides welcomed the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state at the recent PNC session in Algiers. They noted that the birth of this state was the expression of the will of the Arab people of Palestine, the practical embodiment of its right to self-determination. A unanimous opinion was expressed that the right way to establishing peace in the Middle East lay through the convocation of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation on an equal basis of all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, and five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the termination of war between Iran and Iraq, their acceptance of the UN Security Council Resolution 598 and the start of peaceful talks under the UN auspices to find settlement of the conflict which would meet the interests of the two neighboring countries and lay foundation for peace in the region on the whole.

The participants in the talks discussed the continuing aggressive actions of Israel in Lebanon and demanded the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from south Lebanese territory. They expressed the hope that an accord will be achieved between various Lebanese groups, that Lebanese statehood, sovereignty and independence will be strengthened.

The sides expressed their satisfaction over the relations and contacts which exist between them. They consider it essential to continue developing these relations and to expand links on a systematic basis, in particular, as regards coordinating actions within the framework of the Inter-Parliamentary Union aimed at reinforcing international peace and security by seeking political solutions to regional and global problems of concern to the whole of mankind.

The Arab side welcomed the Soviet delegate's initiative concerning cooperation between Soviet and Arab MP's in examining matters connected with the problem of the developing countries' debt and of environmental protection, and matters discussed at international parliamentary forums.

For its part, the Soviet delegation supported the proposals by the AIPU general secretary on coordinating the activities being held within the framework of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to mark its 100th anniversary in 1989, and also on studying the possibility of organizing a meeting between MPs from the Arab and socialist countries to discuss matters of mutual interest.

The sides agree that it is essential to continue exchanges of parliamentary delegations and documents.

The Soviet delegation handed over an official invitation to the AIPU secretary general to visit the Soviet Union to continue the exchange of views in the interests of reinforcing relations between the sides. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be fixed in the course of further contacts.

Joint YAR Committee Meeting Ends in Moscow

*JN2312205088 Sanaa Domestic Service in Arabic
2000 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] The meetings of the third session of the Joint YAR-USSR Committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation concluded in Moscow yesterday evening. The meetings were held 19-22 December under the chairmanship of Brother Dr Muhammad Sa'id al-'Attar, deputy prime minister, development minister, chairman of the Central Development Organ, and Standing Committee member; and Vladimir Mordvinov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

At the end of the session's meetings, the two sides signed the minutes of the committee's work, which included aspects of bilateral cooperation in various economic spheres.

On this occasion, Dr Al-'Attar and the Soviet official exchanged friendly speeches.

The signing ceremony was attended by the members of the two delegations who attended the committee meetings; Brother 'Abd al-'Uthman, our country's ambassador to the USSR; and Veniamin Popov, the USSR ambassador in Sanaa.

Kolbin Leads Delegation to Indian CP Congress

*LD2312200888 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT
23 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—A CPSU delegation left Moscow for Delhi at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to

take part in the work of the eighth CPI (M) congress. It is led by Gennadiy Kolbin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

CPSU Greet Congress

*LD2612123788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has sent greetings to the 13th congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Your congress, the message says, has convened at a watershed period for the destiny of peace, in which an active search is in progress for ways to achieve real disarmament and further reduce tension, and for a political solution to regional conflicts. Particular significance is now being assumed by the union of all progressive forces and the democratic public. In our country, the message from the CPSU Central Committee notes, the persistent struggle of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) for the interests of the working people and its contribution to the cause of preserving peace and security for peoples and to the strengthening of Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation are well-known.

Kolbin Reads Message

*LD2812171288 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT
28 Dec 88*

[Text] Trivandram December 28 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Artem Yarikov:

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) continues its deliberations in the city of Trivandram, administrative centre of the South Indian state of Kerala.

Today the delegates began to discuss the draft political resolution of the congress, worked out by the CPI (M) in rallying the country's progressive forces to fight for social justice, democracy, peace, freedom and socialism. B.T. Ranadive, a member of the Politburo of the CPI (M) CC, said that the fact that the struggle for peace has entered a crucial stage is a most important development of the past three years. Realistic prospects now open for avoiding a nuclear war. This and other developments have occurred thanks to the new Soviet initiatives in the field of nuclear and conventional arms reductions.

The congress delegates were addressed by representatives of fraternal parties. The Indian Communists received with stormy applause a message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee, read out by Gennadiy Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party and a CPSU CC member, who leads the Soviet delegation. We treasure our relations with the CPI (M), an influential political force in India, which enjoys great authority with, and support of, the popular masses, he said. The Soviet Communists expressed their appreciation to the CPI (M) for supporting the CPSU's foreign policy and for its efforts to

enhance friendship between the two peoples. Participation of the CPSU delegation in the work of the congress is yet another manifestation of the interaction between the two parties on the basis of equality and proof of the readiness to further these relations on the time-tested principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Kolbin told the congress delegates about the profound changes and qualitative renovation of all the aspects of Soviet societal life. He noted with satisfaction that the interaction between the USSR and India plays a major role in improving international relations. Operating separately, jointly or in parallel, the two countries are contributing in a major way to ensuring peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region and globally.

The head of the CPSU delegation wished the congress every success in its deliberations. He presented the 13th congress of the CPI (M) with a red banner from Soviet Communists. The congress continues in session.

Congress Praises Peace Drive

LD2912211488 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT
29 Dec 88

[text] Trivandrum, Kerala December 29 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Artem Yarikov:

The delegates of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) today endorsed the draft political resolution formulated by the Central Committee of the CPI (M). In this document which determines the party's strategic line, the Communist Party of India (M) has confirmed its adherence to the cause of peace and called for the promotion of India's peaceful foreign policy course. The resolution for world peace has also been adopted. In the resolution, the Communist Party of India (M), specifically, emphasizes that the Soviet peace initiatives have strengthened the peace movement. An important step toward the elimination of nuclear weapons, this is how the delegates of the congress described the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. The recent proposals advanced by the Soviet leader at the United Nations, including unilateral reduction of the USSR Armed Forces are a continuation of the Soviet Union's peace drive, the resolution says.

The congress expressed the resolve to press for an early holding of an international conference for turning the Indian ocean into a peace zone.

Sharing impressions about the work of the congress, many delegates noted that the participants in the forum were most unanimous in appraising the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government have made a number of bold far-reaching peace initiatives of late, the TASS correspondent was told by Marian Alexander Babi, member of the leadership of the Organization of CPI (M) of the Kerala state. He said that

the proposals advanced in Mikhail Gorbachev's address at the United Nations hold a special place. Implementing and developing Lenin's ideas about the need for peaceful coexistence, the CPSU and the Soviet Government take humanity along the road of building a world without wars, he said. Marian Alexander Babi said he believes that in the coming year 1989 the world will become a safer place. But the advance in the consolidation of universal security depends on everyone, he said.

A delegation of the Soviet Communist Party met with the representatives of the media in the press centre today. The policy of glasnost and perestroika comprising all aspects of the life of Soviet society were the main themes. Answering numerous questions from newsmen, head of the Soviet delegation Gennadiy Kolbin, member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, said that revolutionary perestroika in the USSR is called upon to use to the utmost the huge potential of socialism, to bring it to a higher level. He said that the Soviet Union's foreign policy and the emergence of a most important factor of the present, new political thinking, in the international arena are organically linked with the processes of perestroika.

East Europe

Soviet-Romanian Trade, Economic Ties Viewed

PM2912155988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
29 Dec 88 p 3

[TASS correspondent O. Shirokov dispatch, especially for TRUD: "Along the Path of Creation. 30 December Marks the 41st Anniversary of the Proclamation of a People's Republic in Romania"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Dec.—[passage omitted] Party and state documents note that Romania should reach the stage of average economic development during the current 5-year plan period, and should join the ranks of the world's developed states by the year 2000. It is approaching these objectives not in isolation but by relying on cooperation with the fraternal countries.

The annals of Soviet-Romanian economic cooperation show that results are augmented when efforts are pooled. For example, the Soviet Union has trebled oil deliveries to Romania in the current 5-year plan period, while gas and electricity deliveries have increased by more than one-third. Soviet ore is used for one-half of the ferrous metals cast in Romania. There is a steady demand here for our power industry, mining, and road construction equipment and metal-cutting machine tools.

Traditions are also maintained in Romanian exports to the USSR. Furniture, footwear, and other mass consumer goods made in Romania are in permanent demand in our country. [passage omitted]

Active work is now under way to further improve and deepen mutually advantageous trade and economic cooperation and enhance its efficiency. The main highway henceforth is represented by intrasector specialization and production sharing and the establishment of direct ties between our countries' enterprises and organizations.

Yugoslav Delegation Studies Restructuring
PM2912161188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] An LCY delegation consisting of N. Durakovic, member of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina Central Committee Presidium, and S. Lokar, executive secretary of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee Presidium, studied the course of restructuring the CPSU's activity in line with the 19th all-union party conference decisions during a 19-24 December visit. The delegation members had conversations at the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, the CPSU Central Committee International Department, Moscow Gorkom, and Gorkiy Obkom, and spoke about the basic avenues of reform within the LCY.

Medvedev, Hager Sign Social Science Accord
PM2912161888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] K. Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, was in Moscow 27-28 December on a working visit, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a talk with K. Hager, in the course of which there was an exchange of opinions on a wide range of questions being resolved by the two fraternal parties.

V.A. Medvedev spoke about the work being done to implement the instructions of the 19th all-union party conference, implement the radical economic reform and the reform of the political system, and restructure the party's life. He described the beneficial new processes associated with the democratization of intraparty life and the stepping up of party organizations' responsibility—processes that have been so graphically manifested in the course of the CPSU reports and elections—and spoke about the problems that remain to be resolved. In this context particular attention was devoted to the analysis of the ideological and political situation and the work being done in this sphere.

K. Hager shared the experience of building socialism in the GDR, spoke about the results of the recent 7th SED Central Committee Plenum, describing it as a very important milestone in the preparations for the 12th party congress, and spoke in detail about the tasks being resolved by the GDR's Communists today in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture.

Topical questions of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the SED were discussed. While noting its generally high standard and intensiveness, the two sides agreed that in the interests of further deepening relations between the USSR and the GDR and strengthening socialism, it is necessary to continue to improve collaboration and the exchange of experience between the two parties in this area and enrich bilateral cooperation with progressive new forms.

V.A. Medvedev and K. Hager signed an accord between the CPSU and the SED on a long-term program for cooperation in the sphere of the social sciences between scientific and academic collectives in the USSR and the GDR.

Taking part in the talk, which took place in a friendly, constructive atmosphere, were A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department; R.P. Fedorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy; V.N. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and V.P. Kuzmin, deputy director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism; SED Central Committee members G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, and H. Wolf; E. Diehl, deputy director of the SED Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism; and other comrades.

Medvedev Attends Ceremony on German CP Jubilee
PM2912162088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting of the Capital's Public"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of the capital's public was held in Moscow 28 December to mark the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Germany. It was organized by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement.

The speakers at the conference, G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism; R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy; K. Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; K. Bachmann, member of the German Communist Party [DKP] Board Presidium; and H.

Mahle, member of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin [SEW] Board Bureau, described the main stages in the heroic path of the Communist Party of Germany, whose glorious traditions are continued by the SED, the DKP, and the SEW.

The speakers spoke with satisfaction of the fraternal nature of relations among the CPSU, SED, DKP, and SEW, and their collaboration at this crucial stage of world history.

The meeting was attended by V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; R.P. Fedorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR; H. Wolf and E. Diehl, members of the SED Central Committee; K.-H. Schroeder, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the DKP Board; senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, and representatives of the capital's public.

On the same day the German friends, as well as representatives of the Moscow public, laid flowers at the E. Thaelmann monument.

Bulgarian Communists Hold Moscow Consultations
PM2912162488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] A group of BCP workers headed by I. Bochukov, deputy chief of the BCP Central Committee Economic, Scientific, and Technical Policy Department, discussed questions of stepping up party influence on the process of introducing new forms of integration in cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria, in the course of consultations in CPSU Central Committee departments 26-28 December.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ligachev, Biryukova Attend Moscow Cuban Meeting
LD2912214988 Moscow TASS in English
2138 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow [dateline as received]—The festive meeting of the Moscow public devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution took place in the capital on Thursday. Addressing the gathering, Vladimir Shatalov, president of the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society and head of the cosmonauts' training centre named after Gagarin, said that the victory of the revolution had become a historic event in Cuba's life and a turning point in the anti-imperialist movement and struggle of Latin American nations for their political and economic

independence. The meeting was attended by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Aleksandra Biryukova, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Tashanbek Akmatov, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Shevardnadze Receives Cuban Ambassador
LD2912114688 Moscow TASS in English
1140 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, received Julio Camacho Aguilera, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Cuba's ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. They discussed some issues connected with the state and prospects for developing Soviet-Cuban relations, and international issues, which interested both sides.

Eduard Shevardnadze explained the importance of large-scale proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The ambassador stated Cuba's firm support for the constructive Soviet initiatives which have exceptional significance for further improving the situation in the world.

The ambassador said that the leadership and people of Cuba took to heart the tragedy which befell the Armenian people and did what they could to help in the relief effort. He also informed about the decision of Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of Cuba, to give as a gift to the Armenian people the equipment for testing blood for AIDS and hepatitis, which was previously airlifted into the disaster area.

Eduard Shevardnadze expressed sincere gratitude for the sympathy and aid.

Gorbachev Greets Colombian Communist Leader
LD2912105488 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0930 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev has cordially congratulate Gilberto Vieira in connection with his reelection as general secretary of the Colombian Communist Party Central Committee and wished him good health and fruitful work in this lofty post. The Soviet leader wished Gilberto Vieira and all Colombian communists great success in the struggle for the interests of the working people of Colombia, and for the development of the country in the direction of peace, democracy, and social progress.

Political & Social

Armenian Relief, Reconstruction Operations

Yazov on Army's Relief Efforts

LD3012143988 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT
30 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov has stressed the need to upgrade the civil defence service in this country and develop mobile, well-trained and well-equipped military and non-military units to be incorporated into it.

Yazov, a member of the Politburo commission overseeing relief operations in quake-stricken Armenia, was speaking in a TASS interview as the first and most crucial phase of work dealing with the effects of the natural calamity—rescue efforts—was completed.

He praised Soviet Army troops helping search and recovery operations in affected areas, noting that the Defence Ministry sent more than 23,000 men with 3,000 machines and vehicles to assist civilian rescuers.

Interior Ministry troops and militia units, in all some 5,500 men, are working in contact with the military in stricken areas, Yazov said.

Members of different arms of the services and of practically all the logistics services are involved in relief operations. Military medical personnel also are very helpful. Eight military service units were deployed in affected areas, giving medical assistance to more than 6,000 people.

A total of 87 food distribution points were set up, providing free meals twice a day to 37,000 people. Mechanised field bakeries produced more than ten tonnes of bread every day.

Over 27,000 tents were put up for local people and four bath-and-laundry trains and a laundry unit were made available.

Water supply lines totalling 35.5 kilometres were laid to provide drinking water.

Military transport planes made more than 1,100 flights, delivering some 400 cranes, 100 excavators and lots of other freight to stricken areas.

Yazov said that the second phase of relief operation will last longer and aim to restore the region's social and economic potential.

The servicemen's functions, he stressed, will change correspondingly. While today clearing debris remains the principal task, in the near future preparations will get under way for construction and then actual building work will start.

Two military building units are already working in the quake zone and six more are on their way there. Considerable numbers of building structures, materials and machines, including 14 prefabricated barracks, 27 prefabricated metal storage depots and more than 100 mobile caravans, have already been delivered.

The defence minister made a point of noting that members of more than 50 ethnic groups are involved in relief operations, which, he said, "graphically confirms the unity of the Army and the people and the international nature of our Armed Forces".

Contributions to the relief fund are coming from many military units, he said. Some 12 million roubles have already been contributed. In addition, servicemen and members of their families donated more than 7,000 litres of blood.

Yazov said that one of the main lessons of the tragedy is that military units must be kept in constant readiness for action in various extreme conditions.

Commission on Transport Problems

LD3012132188 Moscow TASS In English 1308 GMT
30 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan december 30 TASS—Without dramatically increasing the capacity of Armenia's railways the vast relief aid provided by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the government to stricken areas won't reach them fast enough.

This problem topped the list of issues discussed by the Politburo Commission overseeing relief operations at another meeting here on Friday.

The meeting, chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Batalin, came up with a programme for the large-scale modernisation of Armenian railways.

Quite a few houses in quake-hit villages received only insignificant damage and many local people are expressing readiness to restore them with their own hands.

The commission instructed the USSR and Armenian Commerce Ministries to open and stock building materials shops in affected areas as soon as possible.

The improved performance of trading outlets under the USSR Commerce Ministry was noted. For example, a total of 34 food, 10 greengrocer and 9 department stores have already been opened in Leninakan.

At the same time sharp criticism was leveled at Armenia's trading industry which failed to organise food trade properly in Yerevan before the New Year festivities. It was stressed that officials to blame for the failures will be personally accountable.

The work style of a number of officials is limited to commands. They do not actually have the situation in hand and do not make spot checks to exercise control at local level, which has led to contradictory and unfounded rumours about an allegedly unfair distribution of relief aid.

The situation in quake-hit areas is changing for the better every day. The evacuation of quake victims is continuing. By January 1, 1989, 110,000 people will have been evacuated, including 70,000 to areas outside Armenia, 65,000 of them to health resorts.

Interior Troop Official on 'Order'

LD2912174688 *Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*
1215 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Interview with Colonel General Yuriy Vasiliyevich Shatalin, commander of the Interior Ministry's troops, by correspondent Boris Kondratov; from the "On Guard of the Interests of the People" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Shatalin] First of all, I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to express my sincere sympathy to the working people of Armenia in connection with the natural disaster, which has brought great human casualties and destruction to the towns and villages. I well know the land of Armenia and the Armenian people. I have served there several years, and for this reason I feel the grief of Armenia as my own personal distress.

[Kondratov] Yuriy Vasiliyevich, we know that the men of the Soviet Army and the Interior ministry's troops were among the first to arrive in the earthquake regions to help the victims, and obviously they immediately got down to the rescue work.

[Shatalin] Yes, immediately after the earthquake they started first of all saving people and clearing ruins in the towns of Leninakan and Spitak, not allowing themselves a minute's rest. By today they have brought out 658 people and hundreds of bodies. At the same time, a number of troop units started guarding vitally important facilities, public and private property, patrolling in the disaster area, and serving at entry checkpoints to the destroyed towns and villages. Of course, this was a forces measure. It was caused by the cases of theft and other illegal actions. The timely measures taken allowed a number of criminals to be arrested for theft of material valuables. Forty-one firearms and eight knives were confiscated. Multimillion amounts of money and important valuables were handed over to the state. [passage omitted]

[Kondratov] But Yuriy Vasiliyevich, there is an impression that your contribution in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake could have been still greater had it not been for the fact that certain forces were taken away to maintain public order.

[Shatalin] That is perfectly accurate. The point is that even now, at this time of tragedy for the people of Armenia and the whole country, the waters are still being muddied in Transcaucasia by irresponsible elements. These are first and foremost the so-called figures, in quotation marks, from the dissolved Karabakh committee who, by means of incitement, scare tactics, blackmail, threats, and spreading unwholesome rumors, are attempting to exacerbate inter-ethnic feuding, flagrantly trampling on the laws of humaneness and humanity. Starting with unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations, they then changed literally to terror. The known events in Kirovobad led to deaths. Things went so far as the murder of some Soviet Army servicemen who were trying to protect people. In these conditions, acting in strict accordance with the demands of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the duties and rights of internal troops to maintain public order, our men were forced to give a rebuff to the unbridled hooligan elements. Special measures and means were used against those who did not heed the calls to halt their antisocial and even criminal activity, who were in the grip not of reason but of unbridled emotion. This is the aim of the declaration in a number of Transcaucasian towns of a special situation and the introduction of curfews. Such severe measures were caused by the situation pertaining in those towns, where the normal forms of government were violated, where the local authorities were not in a position to regulate the process of everyday life, where the local authorities' instructions were not carried out, where the constitutional rights of citizens were not upheld, and where their honor and dignity were violated.

This was the reason for concentrating power in the hands of military commandants who were granted the necessary powers to restore citizens' constitutional rights and normal life in towns. Demonstrations, meetings, and strikes are banned. Vital state facilities and institutions are under control and protection. Entry and exit from towns is regulated.

[Kondratov] Yuriy Vasiliyevich, in my view, this is a serious test for the whole system of the country's internal troops. What you were talking about, the measures adopted—have there been any results?

[Shatalin] The working rhythm in the town has been restored. Antisocial manifestations have subsided. Thus, whereas in the first period after the imposition of the curfew there were hundreds of people arrested for violations of public order, today the numbers are in single figures. For example, on 22 December there were only 15 people arrested in the towns of Azerbaijan, 16 in Nagorno-Karabakh, and only 6 in the town of Armenia. There were no crimes committed on interethnic grounds.

The leaders of the so-called Karabakh Movement and other irresponsible persons are trying to incite, to blow on the dying embers of the fire. In Yerevan they have scattered hand-written leaflets which provocatively diminish the role of the nationwide aid to the victims of the earthquake. In some places in Azerbaijan there have

been desecrations of Armenian graves. Individuals are trying to violate the established order and curfew, are confronting the organs of power. Moreover, it has been established that recently, antirestructuring, corrupt elements are showing an interest in weapons, and are provoking troops into using them. So as not to be unsubstantiated, I will cite an example. On 15 December, in Yerevan, a man (Mativasyan) was arrested; in his car he was carrying 20 hunting rifles and 500 cartridges. There are instances of direct threats against and blackmail of servicemen, both by the Karabakh leaders and their followers.

[Kondratov] So probably in this situation the young men serving in the internal troops have to display restraint?

[Shatalin] Indubitably. The personnel of the units and subunits of internal troops respond to these provocations with self-control, irreproachable observance of the requirements of socialist legality. Even the most rabid demagogues could not and cannot reproach them with violations of these requirements over the period of the whole 10 months' stay of the troops in Transcaucasia. The soldiers, sergeants, warrant officers, and officers of the internal troops well understand that the real representatives of the Armenian and Azeri peoples are not the frantic, irresponsible thugs urging people to senseless acts, and sometimes to bloody crimes, but those who by their selfless labor are striving to ease the grief and suffering of those affected by the earthquake. The personnel of the internal troops, together with the men of the Soviet Army and the staff of the internal affairs organs, display constant readiness to help people affected by misfortune, compassion, and charity. Thus, the personnel of the internal troops have collected and transferred to account No 700.400.12 [Armenian quake relief account] over R300,000; almost [words indistinct]; a large quantity of parcels. And these efforts to help the Armenian people in their misfortune will continue.

[Kondratov] Yuriy Vasiliyevich, obviously your troops will now also have to carry out a propaganda mission, the job of agitators, lecturers, being at the forefront of events. What will they have to explain to people?

[Shatalin] Yes, there are very many people turning to them; they are supporting wholeheartedly the course which was clearly defined by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev when he was in the Armenian SSR. The workers of Armenia and Azerbaijan are evidently tired of this senseless internecine strife, and voices are increasingly being raised demanding the imposition of proper order.

In conclusion I would like to note that the men of the internal troops will fulfill their tasks successfully.

CPSU Releases Figures

NC2912142688 Yerevan ARMENPRESS International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] The principal themes of the 26 December working meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission were on issues concerning the organization

of all services in the evacuation of the population in the disaster zone until food supplies are assured in the region, the clearing of debris and the taking of preparatory measures in connection with beginning the initial phase of reconstruction work, and the establishment of all transportation facilities in the natural disaster zone. The meeting was chaired by Yuriy Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy.

It was stated that work is continuing on clearing the debris and pulling out victims in the disaster-stricken areas. As of 25 December, a total of 39,600 people, 15,254 of them alive, had been pulled out of the debris. 11,927 people had been hospitalized and 7,539 were discharged from hospitals.

The evacuation of people is continuing in an organized manner. Already, 105,239 people have been evacuated. More than 60,000 people have been settled in the sanatoriums and rest homes of the CPSU Central Committee, [word indistinct] Central Committee, ministries, and administrations.

Financial assistance continued to be received for the victims of the natural disaster. Yesterday alone, R123 million was received, bringing up the total to R682 million. Financial aid received from foreign countries totals R5,789,000 in foreign currency, of which more than R4.5 million is in freely convertible foreign currency.

While in recent days attention focused on transport, particularly rail transport, these days the republic has been receiving vast numbers of railcars laden with food, building materials and technical equipment whose unloading is being put off. Thus, on 25 December, of the 1,800 railcars ready for unloading, only 1,423 were unloaded. A tense situation prevails in Leninakan where approximately 2,000 railcars have piled up on the rails. In Yerevan, 100 food-laden railcars remain unloaded.

The commission's attention continues to remain on issues concerning the construction of complementary spur lines, bypass rail lines, and tunnels. They are needed to unload basic deliveries so that goods, equipment, building materials, and other items for construction can be received and used. These are generally beginning to be received in connection with starting reconstruction work.

Agro-Industrial Damage Summarized

LD2912152788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] The destructive earthquake in Armenia has caused serious damage to the agro-industrial complex. Our special correspondents, Yuriy Korotkov and Kur-yun Khomaryan, asked Yevgeniy Ivanovich Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, to tell them about the scale of the losses and the impending restoration work:

[Korotkov] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you have been in Yerevan a long time now and have learned the scale of destruction.

[Sizenko] In 15 rayons of the republic, according to the inventory we have made, 530 production facilities suffered, including 209 sovkhozes, 90 kolkhozes, and 32 processing industry enterprises, namely meat combines and dairies; 58 villages were completely destroyed; a total of 342 rural population centers suffered; in the rural areas 83 schools, 88 kindergartens, and a large number of other cultural and everyday facilities were destroyed. Such major enterprises as the Spitak Bakery Products Combine, the sugar refinery, and the citric acid works, were completely destroyed; 1,428 livestock premises were damaged or destroyed; 24,000 head of cattle were killed, as well as 50,000 sheep and 8,000 pigs. The water mains and heating mains were put out of action, communications were interrupted; 59 villages were left without electricity. There was destruction of 93,000 hectares of irrigated land, which produced one-third of the total agricultural produce. I should mention that overall the stricken areas produce about 35 per cent of the agricultural output.

[Khomaryan] To restore the destroyed potential here in the agro-industrial complex the help of the whole country is needed.

[Sizenko] You are right in saying that really the entire country's help is needed to cope with a tragedy such as that which struck the Armenian people. I should say that as soon as the first reports of the tragedy in Armenia came in practically all the gosagroproms of the union republics expressed fraternal readiness to give every help to the Armenian rural workers. Already 93 mechanized detachments have been formed. Priority attention was given to the people of the villages which suffered; 10,000 tents have been brought in, 1,600 yurts, 8,000 stoves—their manufacture had to be organized right here in Yerevan and they are coming from other areas. We have sent to these stricken villages 16,000 items of warm clothing—jackets, warm boots etc. In this short time we have mobilized and sent especially to the villages where there is no electricity 118 diesel power generators. The principle of giving assistance is based on the following: It is envisaged to provide each stricken rayon, farm, and processing enterprise with the backing of the gosagroproms of the union and autonomous republics, agro-industrial committees of krays and oblasts. Each sovkhoz and kolkhoz will have a reliable strong patron in the form of some oblast or other which will use its potential to give the necessary aid in restoring all that was destroyed on that kolkhoz or sovkhoz.

[Khomaryan] They will come from all corners of our country. Of course, we are profoundly touched. You said they would bring their own building materials, and each region of the country has its own characteristics. From the Ukraine they will bring Ukrainian building materials, and Belorussian ones from Belorussia, and each will

have its own national ornamentation. Don't you think it might end up with the Armenian countryside losing its national individuality and becoming international, somehow?

[Sizenko] I think this is one of the main questions from the point of view of restoration of the villages. The villages being restored must preserve their national color. Since all republics will take part, the possibility is not excluded of designs from these republics being used according to the wishes of the inhabitants. I think this would be quite a good thing if perhaps here and there some traces will remind us who took part, which republic took part in restoring and building the reborn villages.

Leninakan Communications Restored

NC2912141088 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1630 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Bad weather in Armenia is making the delivery of goods to the quake-stricken regions difficult. At present the roads have been cleared, but vehicles are forced to proceed slowly. [word indistinct] do not see it likely that [word indistinct] in the republic. Nevertheless, reconstruction work is continuing in the devastated cities and villages. In Leninakan in particular, a substantial portion of the telephone network has been repaired, radio and television operations have been restored, and the bread and (?pastry) factories are back in operation. The (?lathe manufacturing) factory is also operating. It has been possible to rescue 8,000 people from the ruins of this city alone.

Official on Railways Damage

NC3012123088 Yerevan ARMENPRESS International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers Information Department press center organized a briefing by G.M. Fadeyev, first deputy minister of communication means [title as received], for reporters.

Fadeyev said that the disastrous earthquake in Armenia did not spare the railway transport facilities of the republic. He added that the quake had hurt the republic's railway economy and structures, as well as the railway employees' families. The earthquake severed 40 km of rail lines, damaged 12 bridges, passes and tunnels, disabled more than (?10) km of transmission lines, railway radio-links, as well as several switchyards and electrical substations. The quake also damaged six shunting engines, locomotives and electric trains. Several locomotive, railcar, cargo and tunnel facilities, buildings in certain stations, and technical service buildings also were damaged. There is still much grief over the loss of human life. More than 400 railway employees and members of their families lost their lives. More than 30 homes inhabited by railway employees have been fully destroyed, and 846 railway employee families have been left homeless.

Immediately after the quake, crews were formed to send cargo to the Armenian SSR. We have sent more than 2,600 experts and workers, 10 trains and railway machinery stations, and 42 locomotives to the natural disaster area for reconstruction work.

The ministry sent 240 medical workers, drugs and medical equipment worth R76,000, as well as 500 liters of blood by donors and 400 liters of dry plasma to the quake area.

Our worker collectives have decided to donate to the earthquake victims R29.5 million in financial assistance, of which R26 million already has been transferred to the account of the Yerevan department. The ministry has appropriated R1.2 million for one-time benefits to railway employees and their families. In the last 20 days, 33,670 railcars transporting coal, fuel, timber, building equipment and materials, automobiles, food supplies, and prefabricated homes have been shipped to the Yerevan department.

Fadeyev stated that electric train service between Yerevan and Leninakan, and between Tbilisi and Kirovakan was discontinued on 8 December. Rail lines between Leninakan and Kirovakan were fully restored and rail construction work ended on 13 December.

Fadeyev added: Our chief problem is expediting the unloading of railcars.

Cases of 'Infectious Diseases'

LD2812131588 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Our correspondent reports isolated and limited cases of infectious diseases in Armenia. Mass vaccinations of the local people and rescue workers are being carried out to prevent the spread of epidemics. The disaster areas are being decontaminated. [passage omitted]

Slots in Military Schools To Go To Quake Victims

NC2912171888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] As a way of providing assistance to the population of the rayons that have suffered from the earthquake, the USSR Ministry of Defense has allocated 120 places in the Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, Sverdlovsk, and Leningrad Suvorov Military Colleges for youths attending the ninth class of general education schools. Enrollment will begin on 3 January 1989. Youths may enroll if they live with in the area of the damaged rayons, are in good health, and wish in the future to become officers in the Soviet Army. Priority will be given to youths whose families have lost their head of household. For detailed information apply on 29, 30 and 31 December from 0900 to 1800 hours to the republican assembly point of the Armenian SSR at the following address: Yerevan City, [word indistinct] Araratyan Street 35. Use buses 122 and 29. Telephone: 42-00-70.

Baku Commandant Posts Situation Notice

NC3012080988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1000 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in the city has not changed. A total of 142 individuals were detained during the night, 108 of them for curfew violations. Six individuals were detained under administrative procedure.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Baku Gorkom Conference Proceedings Reported

NC3012084888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1715 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Excerpts] The time which has elapsed since the 46th Baku Gorkom conference has witnessed an intensive effort by the Communists and all the workers of the capital toward the constant realization of the party's revolutionary reconstruction program. The Baku Gorkom tried, on the basis of an objective assessment of the economic and social situation, to effect radical changes in the ways and methods applied in the guidance given to all aspects of life and to accomplish a significant approach to the question of fulfilling prospective tasks.

The weight of the work fell to the primary party organizations and to work collectives. This created an opportunity to relieve party work from economic and administrative [word indistinct], which should not be its concern.

Significant progress has been achieved toward resolving the social problems as a result of the new perspective from which these are viewed and as a result of the channelling of the city's economic, moral, and the cadres potential toward their resolution.

What are the tasks of the city's party organization? How should the Communists participate in the revolutionary restructuring process and in the [word indistinct] struggle?

These and other important problems and the ways of resolving them were discussed in detail during the 47th Baku Gorkom conference, which was held in the Derzinskiy club in Baku. Fuad Musayev, first secretary of the Baku Gorkom, opened the meeting. The work organs of the conference were elected and the work schedule was approved. Fuat Musayev read the account of the Baku Gorkom. This was followed by the account of the auditing commission. [passage omitted]

The conference approved the account of the credentials commission. Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the convocation. The delegates described the

gorkom's work during the accounting period as satisfactory. The accounting made by the auditing commission was approved and a resolution was adopted.

The members of the leading organs of the city's party organization are being elected at the present time.

Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Viktor (?Paliyanichkov), second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Vagib Guseynov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Organizational, Party, and Cadre Affairs Department [title as heard], are participating in the work of the conference.

Azerbaijan Party Central Committee Meets 27 Dec
NC3012084588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 29 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The work collectives of Baku, which are loyal to their international and work traditions, will increase their contribution toward the struggle waged for reconstruction and for upgrading the pace of social and economic development in the Soviet Union and Azerbaijan SSR. This view was put forward by the participants of the meeting held by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on 27 December.

The leading officials of industrial ministries, main administrations, unions, and establishments, the directors of [words indistinct], the chairmen of the trade union councils, and skilled workers and brigade workers participated in the convocation. Discussed were the situation in the republic, the fulfillment of production plans, the removal of the backwardness that has been allowed, the elimination of mechanisms which hamper work, the work carried out to realize the main economic reforms, and the reactivation of the work of the collectives.

Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting. Gasan Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the meeting's work.

The newspapers published detailed information on the meeting on their first pages under the rubric: The Unity of the Workers Class Must Be Strengthened.

Vezirov Addresses Azerbaijani Public Aktivs
LD2912102588 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri
7 Dec 88 p 1

[Excerpts] In connection with tasks arising from the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and representative of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, a meeting of public aktivs of the republic was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. Production front-rankers,

party and soviet workers, leading officials of ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and directorates, workers of science and culture, party, war and labor veterans, representatives of the central and republican mass media, and participants of previous meetings attended the meeting.

A. Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee addressed the meeting. He said: A few days ago the plenum of the Baku gorkom was held to discuss the situation in our republic's capital. The resolution adopted by the plenum was concise: The Baku party organization must be mobilized to normalize the situation in the city. I want to say that the situation is still complicated. We were achieving success over many months in stopping the undesirable development of events in Azerbaijan and we mentioned this at the meeting of M.S. Gorbachev with the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR and the leaders of both republics. But in recent days the situation has assumed a dangerous nature. There is bloodshed and there have been deaths. Thousands of people have left their native homes.

Where are we going? What do people who attack others, set houses on fire, and who commit other criminal acts, want? I must say with full responsibility that none of those guilty of these crimes against people will go unpunished.

It is not possible to avoid a profound feeling of indignation and condemnation of these cases when talking about events which have taken place in Kirovabad, including those which led to the death of three military servicemen and about events which led to human casualties and looting in Sheki. Those who organized fires and attacks on militia buildings and the procuracy were those who had criminal charges against them removed.

Curfew has been introduced in a number of places in the republic with the purpose of restoring order and preventing further bloodshed. The state cannot tolerate bloodshed. [passage omitted]

We remember the crowded meetings in Lenin Square. It must be said that the meetings were staged in an organized way. Leading officials of the republic—the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, secretaries of the Central Committee, other party, soviet, and economic workers, and cultural officials of culture—made speeches there.

Many questions concerning the most varied spheres of our life were raised at meetings. We carefully familiarized ourselves with these questions. People spoke with anxiety about the living conditions of Azerbaijanis in Armenia, and put forward proposals on how to assist those who had to leave their homes and come to our republic. It was requested that the 18 July resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which clearly stated that the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] as a territory is part of the Azerbaijan SSR—

should be unconditionally implemented. But certain forces drew completely wrong conclusions about this question. You remember the latest events (in Khodzhal, Topkhana, and other places).

I would especially like to point out that we too share the anxiety of participants in the meetings about all the global and practical questions to which they referred. There was no difference between what healthy thinking-people said in the meetings and what Communists are saying at party meetings, rayon and town party conferences, and at talks in work collectives.

But I believe that you will agree with me that in some completely unpleasant cases which do not suit the interests of our people or their present and future, the people are addressed by provocative appeals and slogans. Of course, these appeals and slogans cannot help to solve questions connected with the NKAO, with the settlement of those who have temporarily left the Armenian SSR and come to our republic, or with maintaining the security of any people of any nationality who live on any territory of our great Soviet homeland.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republican government are carefully analyzing and examining proposals put forward at meetings and talks in Baku and other towns and rayons. The relevant decisions have been adopted on many of these proposals. I want to reiterate this view that in most of the documents we approved at both of the two latest plenums of the Central Committee, the proposals and wishes of Communists and workers of the republic were taken into consideration. [passage omitted]

We must know precisely the reasons for the tragedies which have taken place. This is a strange mixture: very serious shortcomings and errors of the past in the sphere of interethnic relations have been added to the activities of ill-intentioned people who are frightened of restructuring and who see it as a death sentence. The fact that the enemies of restructuring are able to skillfully use the errors and shortcomings in the sphere of interethnic relations is proved by the fact that party activists and cadres who were largely formed during the period of stagnation—I am thinking of personnel both in Azerbaijan and Armenia—have remained helpless against the wave of nationalism.

The question of NKAO was raised for the first time during the years of Soviet rule, and this question was referred to each time our country was in difficulty. This time too, this was the case. It is no secret that open errors committed by leaders of the republic concerning NKAO have had noticeable effects and we mentioned this at the 19th all-union party conference and the plenum of the Communist Party of the Azerbaijan Central Committee. I must say that not only many problems of the Armenian population, but also of the Azerbaijani population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast remained unsolved. Thus, grounds were prepared for a social explosion. [passage omitted]

All these intentions and plans of ours have been regarded by those who are against restructuring as a real danger which could undermine their position and privileges. And now they have joined the organizers of Krunk and Karabakh operations and are provoking people to create disorder. These elements do all they can to disrupt the stability of the situation and do not refrain from using democratization and openness for selfish purposes. They play with people's national feelings, abuse the real difficulties, and attempt to stop restructuring and hamper its implementation. They are to blame for the tragedy of many families who have left their native land in Azerbaijan and Armenia. They are guilty of bloodshed and the deaths of dozens of people.

Workers have demanded that these hotheads be stopped and brought to account, and we will certainly do this.

Cases of indifference towards the needs of the people, self-interest and theft have continued over many years. Without considering the opinion of Communists and workers, unprincipled people and sometimes people who have dishonored themselves were given leading posts in a number of party committees and soviet bodies. In these dramatic days alone, the helplessness of some party committees and the political immaturity of their leaders have been displayed. They refrained from confronting people and from sincere and open talks. Comrades, we noticed that our opinion about these cadres conforms with the view of the people.

I remember, once, late in the evening, a large group of organizers of meetings in Lenin Square had gathered in one place. I heard about this and went there. We had a lively discussion. There was an identity of views on many questions. Above all, we agreed on which duties are urgent for our people today and which are strange and artificial duties which are put forward for drawing attention away from the main question. In the process of report-back and elections, we did not recommend a number of comrades for reelection to the post of secretary of the party committee. In recent days, leaders of Nakhichevan Oblast Party Committee and Kirovabad and Sheki City Party Committees were renewed. Some of comrades who were dismissed will have to answer other questions too.

Soon you will hear about other changes, too. During these tense days many leaders showed themselves not only as inexperienced but also as hypocrites and pretentious people. While in theory they supported restructuring, in practice they stabbed it in the back. There were many who even served as ringleaders and organizers of disorders.

We are well aware of which individuals used to gather at gardens and houses and we know what ill intentions they harbored; they used to plan how to counteract all the efforts aimed at bringing progress to the republic and used to organize disorder to sow seeds of discontent among the people. I had spoken to some of them telling

them that they could still work for the benefit of the people. Do we have far too many cadres to spread them here and there? But some people used to feel that the new leader of the party organization of the republic was manifesting indecision and indecisiveness.

However, in this regard I can say that I used to demonstrate a humanitarian and patient approach. But the time has now come to adopt resolute measures. I want to stress that nobody can escape party punishment and some criminal punishment as well. We will no longer allow leading workers to hamper the revolutionary restructuring of the republic.

A. Kh. Vezirov continued: At the invitation of M.S. Gorbachev, we went to Moscow to hold consultations on the events taking place in and around NKAO, the events which led to the destabilization of the situation in the region, and to find solutions for these questions. You are aware that the CPSU Central Committee plenum held on that day adopted important documents on the political development of our society and also you are aware of the regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Communists and all our people have heartily approved of these decisions which are of historic importance and which open the path for a new phase in the political reform of our country.

I would have liked to speak about the meeting of M.S. Gorbachev with deputies of USSR Supreme Soviet from the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR and also with the leaders of both republics. Participating in the meeting were members of the Bureau of the Central Committee and the leading officials of many ministries and departments.

It must be mentioned that deputies from our republic expressed themselves well and succeeded in conveying to the leadership of the country the issues which were causing unhappiness and anxiety among the workers of the republic. They succeeded in conveying the sincere feelings of the people of Azerbaijan who want to live in peace with their eternal neighbor, and who are very anxious about the development of the situation and are concerned about the fate of the entire country.

The reasons for the exacerbated dispute in the region, and ways of eliminating them, were profoundly and comprehensively discussed at the meeting. All of the questions which we put forward were examined with great care, and attention was paid to and a principled assessment made of the event. I must also say that, as you have read in the press, during the discussion on ways of solving the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh it was pointed out again that changing the border of the Azerbaijan SSR in any way is not permissible. [passage omitted]

Comrade Vezirov pointed out that maintaining the safety of people of all nationalities in both our republics is an urgent task. Thousands of people who were dismayed by the development of events, and many who were deceived, feel the need for protection of their civil rights. It is necessary to calm these people and to inculcate a feeling of trust in them.

This question was discussed at the Bureau of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The second question: We are obliged to use, and will use, the entire force of the law against people who instigate ethnic hostility and who allow people to be dismissed from work because of their ethnic identity. We regard the possibility of such illegal actions in Baku, the city of internationalists, as our fault. I believe that the fight against this evil is the most important duty of the party organizations and law enforcement agencies of both republics.

The third question: A reliable barrier must be built against a variety of rumors and fabrications which are intentionally spread and which poison the people's minds. See for yourselves how the necessary steps taken to maintain order in the conditions of the special situation are being distorted. While these are necessary, the military commandant has announced how many people have been imprisoned and how many weapons have been confiscated. From now on we will take all measures for securing the necessary order in Baku. Notice how elements involved in acts of hooliganism have become unrestrained, thinking that they will go unpunished. They are going too far! They wreck buses, beat people up, and get into enterprises and departments and force the workers to take to the streets. What does all of this mean? Does it mean a struggle for a just solution of the problem? No just problem has ever been solved by unjust methods, unclean hands, and deceptive intentions.

These days, the telephones at the party Central Committee are constantly ringing. Many people, and Azerbaijani mothers, request protection for their children, the restoration of order, and demand saving people from looting. How do you describe the actions created on the streets by small groups of hooligans? Is it democracy? We cannot help refugees in this way; we cannot fulfill the duty of restructuring in our republic in this way.

Those who have been to Lenin Square recently have noticed that, together with people who are really anxious about the situation, there are others who are not registered in the capital and who generally have no moral right to be there. I am talking about the horrible unsanitary situation in the square and about people who live near the square and suffer from heart disease for whom ambulances are called frequently. Furthermore, a curfew has been imposed and one must abide by law. Because of all this it was decided to clean the square and this work has been done. Rumors and fabrications were spread at

this time that people were allegedly being run over by tanks and there were casualties. I officially state that although there was equipment [tekhnika] in the area, none of it was used against the people. And rumors about people being killed are obvious lies.

I have been informed that a large group of the city militia support groups have been dismissed because of their unconscientious approach to the fulfillment of their service duties.

Thousands of people have been drawn into strikes which permit hooligan actions, into meetings and demonstrations, by the ill-intentioned. These forces do not want peace and order for the people of Baku, or for the entire region. [passage omitted]

Often, our press also provokes passion by allowing provocative appeals and increasing tension. The Central Committee Bureau has adopted the relevant decision after discussing this question from principled positions. [passage omitted]

I appeal to all workers of the republic and call on them to do all they can and even to work more than that, to have restraint and to be equal to the requirements of restructuring. [passage omitted]

Vlasov Addresses Kirov Oblast Meeting
PM3012113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "At the Party Conferences": "To Firmly Establish Democracy and Order"]

[Text] Delegates to the oblast party report-and-election conference held in Kirov 23 December focused their attention on the specific tasks of creatively combining the ideas of restructuring with deeds by every party organization and every labor collective.

A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, took part in it.

The keynote report by S.A. Osminin, first secretary of the party obkom, and the speeches by R.Ya. Sapegina, foreman at the Lepse Electrical Machine Building Production Association; V.P. Tsepelev, machine operator at the "Progress" Kolkhoz; V.P. Mayseychik, first secretary of Luzskiy CPSU Raykom; A.M. Petrenko, director of the Omutninsk metallurgical plant, and others emphasized that this year's report-and-election campaign has its own specific features. It is the first major step in the practical implementation of the directives formulated by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference for the deepening of restructuring, the implementation of the reform of the political system, the introduction of a new economic mechanism, and the further democratization of the party's and society's life. But the positive results achieved so far, delegates noted, give no grounds to talk

about a radical breakthrough in the oblast's socioeconomic development. What is needed are radical solutions, enterprising actions, and utmost responsibility.

A.V. Vlasov addressed the participants in the conference.

The report-and-election campaign in the country's party organizations, he said, has entered its final stage. The oblast party conferences are coming to an end. The report-and-election campaign in the party has indeed been an exacting review of the party's forces and an important stage in the deepening of restructuring, the implementation of reform of the political system, and the further democratization of social and intraparty life. Today's principled and demanding discussion about the life and work of the Kirov Oblast party organization is basically and mainly in line with the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum. The businesslike mood of the conference, its critical tone, and the frankness and acuteness of discussions will certainly help the growth of communists' political activity and the enhancement of their role in the work to accelerate the oblast's socioeconomic development.

Restructuring in the country, A.V. Vlasov went on to note, has entered a new and exceptionally crucial stage. Its specific feature is the launching of large-scale work to implement the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference directives. The new economic mechanism is gathering strength, production relations and the organizational structures of management are improving, the economy's social orientation is being intensified. The causes of apathy, indifference, and unconcern are being gradually eliminated. People are standing up for themselves, are acquiring a growing sense of being the masters of production and becoming increasingly involved in independent creative work.

At the same time, an analysis of the processes occurring in the national economy shows that we have still not managed to overcome the expenditure-based nature of economic development or to advance even slightly as regards the intensification of production and the enhancement of its efficiency. Furthermore, a number of negative trends are actually growing stronger instead of abating.

It is well known that we link our main hopes for the dynamic and balanced development of the national economy with the implementation of radical economic reform. So far, however, these hopes have not been fully justified. Enterprises which have switched to full economic accountability and self-financing are still not boosting labor productivity and profits as fast as we would like, and are insufficiently energetic in reducing the prime cost of output.

In many regards, this work is encountering conservatism in ministries and departments which find it hard to abandon the edict and pressure methods of economic

management. We are aware that administrative measures of influence alone will not help us to finally demolish the mentality of arbitrariness on the part of the apparatus, its sense of impunity, and its arrogance. We will, of course, resolve these questions. But the main point still is the question of getting the principles of reform to every primary labor collective and every work position so as to ensure that the Law on the State Enterprise and the Law on the Cooperative System start operating at full force.

It is also important to ensure that the new economic relations and the new forms of ownership make headway with the most active support of the party. I refer primarily to lease and collective contracts and various forms of cooperative. It is, after all, no secret that the individual was in fact alienated from public ownership of the means of production in conditions of the dominance of the administrative edict system. Now that radical economic reform has been launched the situation is changing—and quite fundamentally at that. It is changing in a direction which ensures genuine people's power.

This is also the direction pursued by the measures envisaged as part of the radical reform of the Soviet political system, which began with the decisions made at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session. The innermost essence, the nucleus of this reform, as M.S. Gorbachev especially emphasized, is the aim of placing the working man at the center of the entire political process and firmly establishing him as the master of production and of the state. In this way we will accomplish a decisive turnabout from the domination of the administrative system of management to full power on the part of the people, to the restoration of the principle of democratic centralism in its Leninist meaning—as the foundation of the country's entire political life.

Exceptionally crucial political work lies ahead of us, the speaker emphasized. One of the most important tasks of party organizations at the present stage of restructuring is to assist by all possible means in strengthening the autonomy of the soviets.

Now that we are firmly establishing the de facto primacy of representative organs of power, we are perceiving in a completely new light questions of the status of executive and administrative [ispolnitelno-rasporyaditelnyye] organs, the mechanism of their mutual relations with and the forms of their subordination to the soviets of people's deputies. Of course, ispolkoms and their apparatus will find it more difficult than before to work in the new conditions. It will be more difficult because they will be held directly responsible in a much more specific and rigorous fashion and will be forced to work for end results. This, in turn, dictates with even more urgency the need for radical restructuring of the style and methods of work by soviet organs and the entire management apparatus, the need to resolutely cleanse it of bureaucratic appendages and accretions.

It was from precisely these positions that the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium recently discussed the Kirov Oblispolkom report on its work to ensure the oblast's comprehensive economic and social development in the light of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference demands.

It is perfectly understandable that, while discussing the report, attention was focused mainly on the urgent and immediate tasks of soviet organs in the oblast. It was noted moreover that, despite certain positive changes for the better, the situation in your oblast is changing extremely slowly. We leveled justified criticism at the oblispolkom for this. But similar criticism has been expressed in even sharper terms by Kirov Oblast residents in the last few days during numerous meetings on kolkhozes and at industrial and trade enterprises. It centered primarily on questions of food supplies and the construction of housing and of social, cultural, and consumer service facilities. People spoke with sorrow about the fact that a growing number of goods are in short supply.

What is especially distressing, however, is the fact that even to this day, we come across instances when attention to the individual and his daily needs is in short supply. This is obviously the reason why a number of enterprises have failed to organize two- and three-shift working, especially in sectors using highly productive equipment.

Something else is also noteworthy—the shortage of information, which at times gives rise to a mass of various rumors, doubts, and misunderstandings among the population. This is something that ideological workers, propagandists, and agitation workers should ponder. Matters must be organized so that the weapon of glasnost serves the interests of restructuring rather than damaging it.

In the remaining years of the 5-year plan period, A.V. Vlasov went on to say, we will have to implement major and extraordinary measures to eliminate or to at least substantially reduce the acuteness of shortages, primarily in the supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the population. This must be done at all costs, otherwise the people will neither understand nor forgive us.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers, in line with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference directives, recently examined and ratified a 2-year food plan for Russia. It is planned to substantially increase the output of meat, milk, and a number of other types of agricultural produce. It must be said that the planned measures reflect only part of the major reserves and opportunities existing in the republic's agro-industrial complex and even in Kirov Oblast.

Concluding his remarks on matters concerning the solution of the food problem, A.V. Vlasov especially emphasized the exceptional importance of the social development of the countryside and of the non-chernozem zone

in particular. A sum of more than R50 billion has been allocated in the current 5-year plan period for the purpose of boosting the region's economy and culture, in line with party Central Committee decisions. The "Dorogi Nechernozemya" [Non-Chernozem Zone Highways] program is now in operation. The region will have commissioned about 12,000 km of hard-surface highways in 1988. The construction of 56,000 km of gas-supply networks for the Non-Chernozem countryside is next in line.

The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers went on to say: In the context of the questions discussed today, I would like to touch upon some negative aspects which cause serious worry. Centrifugal tendencies are almost the greatest danger for our society. In particular they take the form of different manifestations of dependence, parochialism, group egoism, and disregard for statewide interests. Such tendencies today can directly or indirectly damage the country's unified national economic complex and our efforts to enhance the people's living standards.

Attempts to shake the institutions of power and sentiments of social nihilism must be countered by a course of the utmost strengthening of discipline and order, a course of consolidating socialist statehood and its legal foundations. This is a course of firmly establishing the dominance of laws in society, of harmonically combining democracy and order and citizens' rights and duties. We cannot allow any sliding into anarchy and aimless rallies. In this context, I would like to especially emphasize that, in an atmosphere of heated debates, disputes, and pluralism of opinions, every Communist is bound to set an example of ideological commitment, staunchness, and the ability to carry people along with his words and deeds.

Through radical economic reform and the restructuring of the political system our society will reach the broad highway of renewal leading to socialist self-management and genuine people's power. The role of the Communist Party as Soviet society's vanguard is especially enhanced in these conditions.

Communists, including those in Kirov Oblast, wholeheartedly embraced the ideas and objectives of restructuring, are imbued with awareness of the need for profound changes, and are firmly implementing them through their practical actions. Now it is a matter of increasing the revolutions, as it were, of boosting our efforts and moving energetically forward.

The Vyatka region, A.V. Vlasov said in conclusion, has a rich and glorious history. It has given Russia many eminent revolutionaries and military leaders, painters, and scientists. Nor is it short of talent today. This is why there is no doubt that the Kirov Oblast working people, ardent patriots of their land and led by the oblast party organization, will augment its revolutionary and labor traditions and will scale the new heights of restructuring.

S.A. Osminin was reelected first secretary of the party obkom at a plenum of the Kirov CPSU Obkom.

During his stay in Kirov Oblast 21-24 December, A.V. Vlasov visited a number of suburban farms and enterprises in the oblast center. While on Khaturskiy Rayon's "Novyy Put" Kolkhoz and Kotelnichskiy Rayon's "Put Lenina" and "Iskra" Kolkhozes he saw for himself how working people in the fields and stock units are participating in the implementation of the Food Program. Meetings with specialists, machine operators, stockmen, farm leaders, and the party and trade union aktiv produced a lively and keen discussion about boosting the pace of agricultural production, the quest for reserves, and the creation of conditions which would reinforce people's feeling of being the masters of the land. A.V. Vlasov asked about work on the development and practical introduction of various advanced forms of labor organization, especially contracts based on lease principles. Mention was made of the insufficient activity in utilizing all existing potential to sharply increase the output of foodstuffs and to set up on farms as early as possible shops and enterprises for the processing of milk, meat, fruit, and vegetable output and the manufacture of confectionery and other products.

A.V. Vlasov also asked in detail about the pace of housing construction, labor conditions, the running of personal subsidiary farms, and the present state of and future development prospects for the social sphere in the countryside.

While in Kirov, the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers saw the work of the planning and construction association for large-panel housing construction, the Comintern Leather Footwear Combine, the 20th Party Congress Machine Building Production Association, and the Lepse Electrical Machine Building Production Association, and the output of the "Vyatka" Production Association for the manufacture of toys. He visited the exhibition of consumer goods manufactured by the oblast's enterprises and of local agro-industrial complex products, called at a number of stores in the city, visited the diorama "The Establishment of Soviet Power in the City of Vyatka," and saw the exhibits in the oblast museum of art. During meetings and conversations with working people and residents of Kirov there was talk about the problems of modernizing production, improving the quality of manufactured output, developing enterprises' social and consumer services infrastructure, and boosting environmental protection. Specific suggestions were made for improving the trade in foodstuffs and industrial goods.

Flowers were laid at the V.I. Lenin monument in USSR Constitution Square.

A conference was held at the CPSU obkom 24 December at which A.V. Vlasov delivered a speech.

During his tour of the oblast the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers was accompanied by S.A. Osminin, first secretary of Kirov CPSU Obkom, and Oblispolkom Chairman V.A. Desyatnikov.

Russian 'Popular Front' Formed; Program Drafted
PM2912115688 Paris LE FIGARO in French
22 Dec 88 p 4

[Denis Legras dispatch: "Emergence of a Strange 'Front'"]

[Text] Moscow—Russia has just formed its own "Popular Front for the Defense of 'Restructuring'" like the three Baltic nations which created their fronts this fall and the Georgians, who have been thinking of doing so since October.

Its constituent congress was held last Thursday [15 December] and its program, which is being circulated in secret, could, it seems, provide a structure for the majority of the "informal groups" which have been created over the past 2 years.

The idea was launched last February by lawyer Boris Kurashvili in MOSCOW NEWS. He was rapidly joined by a group of sociologists led by Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya. The Baltic "informal" groups, linked by their nationalist demands, quickly found common ground and formed their "fronts" in a few months.

However, the infighting between political parties and interest groups formed in Russia over recent months has largely contributed to that republic's lag in this sphere. The "conservatism" of the authorities, who have often opposed the birth of these "informal" groups in the provinces, the vastness of Russian territory, and the variety of local concerns are also responsible for this.

This is the reason for the secrecy surrounding the formation of the "Russian Front" last week. The intellectuals who initiated it refrained from all publicity to enable various people to save face and thus rally round with honor.

Its 25-point program was drafted in the same spirit. In its introduction it specifies that the mission of the "Popular Front" is to "help progressive circles in the party to save the country from economic, political, social, and moral decline...and to create a life which is more human, richer, more civilized, ecologically pure, and open to the outside world...."

Combating Corruption

It also states that the "front" is open to "all citizens, mass organizations, and so-called 'informal' organizations which respect Soviet law." This is a particularly important point because it seems to rule out the Democratic Union whose aims are openly antisocialist, and possibly the "extremist" wing of Pamyat, because its avowed anti-Semitism is illegal.

The document particularly condemns "the economic system whose absurdity has no precedent in the history of the world," the "waste," the "theft of the people's heritage," the "distortion of interethnic relations," and the "disdain for the workers' honor."

The "Popular Front" has the task of "combating corruption, incompetence, bureaucracy, and injustice." It rejects the "half measures" now being taken which, in its view, "are making the crisis worse and are leading to chaos or counterrevolution."

The authors of the document propose to present candidates in the elections next March who are "independent of the apparatus," although this does not mean independent of the party, and who are capable of "resisting pressure" and defending their own opinions. They are also threatening constituencies which refuse to include them on election lists with abstention—voting is compulsory in the USSR.

They are also demanding a "structural reorientation from production for the sake of production to production for the consumer," the "unlimited" leasing of land; the establishment of real "wholesale commerce;" and the abolition of regulations on the registration of cooperatives, which, according to the text, aims to move from the "pseudo ideal of equality in poverty and slavery to the notion of wealth as a guarantee of the freedom of the individual and the people."

The program also suggests free access for tenants to ownership of their homes "for which they have already paid many times," the opportunity to have two jobs, the formation of an "ecological front" and of pollution "monitoring brigades," and substantial family allowances to "prevent a demographic disaster."

It also demands independent education and freedom for doctors, teachers, and editors to exercise their professions privately, the creation of religious schools "open to lay people and access to the mass media for any religious community."

The "Popular Front" also demands real separation of powers, the right of surveillance over the "nomenklatura," and the right to travel freely abroad.

This program would be seen as totally utopian or even provocative if it had not been drawn up partly by the higher party school and received approval from numerous prominent people in the world of art and literature.

Brazauskas Notes Lithuanian Party's Past Mistakes
LD2912113588 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America
0100 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Report by Edvimas Butkus]

[Summary] Today is the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of Soviet power in Lithuania. On this occasion the Soviet authorities and Mikhail Gorbachev personally have sent their greetings to the people of Lithuania.

Conveying the greetings, Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, said that social, cultural, and economic achievements in Lithuania were highly evaluated by Mikhail Gorbachev. He said Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his firm belief that the Communists of Lithuania and all the working people will further participate vigorously in the revolutionary revival of society and that M. Gorbachev wished everybody success in the work of restructuring and the best of health to everybody.

A. Brazauskas delivered a report at the solemn meeting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR which took place today. In his report, A. Brazauskas analyzed the events of the last 70 years in the republic. He said.

[Begin recording] "Issues concerning the ecological situation, republican sovereignty, and especially the guarantees for self-dependence in the economy, improvement in nationality relations, the formation of a spiritual culture, and other urgent issues were raised openly by many people and especially by leaders of all ranks who have started to think differently, by artists, scientists, and by a number of the Sajudis members. And we cannot, we have no right to, fail to fulfill the hope of the public." [end recording]

The historic background for the setting up of the Lithuanian Communist Party was reported in detail in A. Brazauskas' speech. Having given a positive assessment of the Vincas Kapsukas government in 1918, A. Brazauskas said:

[Begin recording] "It is true that not everything in the work of the republic's Communists was flawless. The Lithuanian Communist Party, as well as other young Communist parties at that time, made a number of mistakes, especially of [word indistinct] nature. Now, when we take a more objective look at the past, we can see them even better.

"Perhaps the greatest mistake of all was that the land owned by the rich land owners was not distributed to those peasants who either had no land at all or who had very little. The peasants' desire for land was enormous, therefore they could not accept the resolution of the Soviet authorities that people's farm communes should be set up voluntarily, thus preserving the large-scale farming. As a result of this, the social basis of the revolution was made narrower and this fact, as we know, was used by the bourgeoisie because the latter promised land to those who would join the armed forces.

"Mistakes were also made in solving nationality issues. The fact that Lithuania was multinational was taken into consideration by the Lithuanian Communist Party and by the Soviet Government. In their work they wanted to ensure equal rights to all nationalities.

"However, this policy was not always carried out with resolution and consistency. The situation was especially aggravated by the fact that right from the start the impact on the Lithuanian peoples' conscience made by the yoke of German occupation had not been adequately taken into consideration by the leadership of the Lithuanian Communist Party." [end recording]

Lithuanian Professor on National School Concept
LD3012110288 Vilnius in Lithuania to North America
0100 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Interview with Prof Vytautas Liutikas of the Vieni Engineering and Construction Institute, by correspondent Roma Pakeniene following the USSR Public Education Workers Congress in Moscow on 20 December; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Pakeniene] It was said in the press that G. Yagodin, minister of the USSR Education Ministry, criticized our concept of a national school in his report. This provoked a great interest on the part of all the delegates. What was the reaction after you had read your report?

[Liutikas] Well, Yagodin's criticism provided wide publicity to our concept of a national school. No other republic has been criticized as much as our republic. People stated definantly: Just look what the Lithuanians have dreamed up! They want to define the content of secondary schools themselves, they want to prepare doctorates and masters degrees themselves!

Concerning the content of the secondary schools reproaches were made that graduates of Lithuanian secondary schools would allegedly not be able to study at higher schools, the top leading schools of the USSR.

After this criticism, the delegates became very interested and this interest especially increased when, upset by my report, the minister lost control and cut short my report. However, the delegates, applauding, demanded that I be given permission to continue my report. Those applauding were not only the delegates—they included people from Moscow and the Russian Federation.

Shatalov, a well-known schoolmaster and innovator rushed on to the rostrum and declared that this interruption was rude and demanded that there be no further interference. I was invited to the rostrum by the applause of the delegates and I finished my report. I said: Dear delegates, thank you very much for your applause which I regard as an indication that you all render support to the concept of a national school! This was, of course, a great slap in the face to the chairman and a great support to our position.

Our people, and others, were very happy about that. I was congratulated by the representatives of all the republics, the exchange of addresses began; I was even invited to present my speech to other republics.

[Pakeniene] Had the other republics developed a similar concept?

[Liutikas] Estonians had a concept which was nearest to ours. However, their representative, perhaps due to lack of oratory skills, was silenced. He could not speak because of the applause, and in fact his report was cut short.

Obviously concepts of the Baltic people are linked most closely, although other republics are also beginning to awaken. Well, we have heard that the Moldavians want to give up the Cyrillic writing and change back to Latin letters which had been used in the past. We heard that the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks want to change back to Persian and Arabic writing. These are new facts, new colors in our life which was long ago seized with stagnation. [passage omitted]

Estonian Press on PRAVDA 'Reproaches'
LD3012113988 Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian
9 Dec 88 p 2

[Raivo Palmaru article: "On the Press and Politics"]

[Excerpts] Even if quite a few remarkable things happened during this past week, Saturday's [3 December] PRAVDA articles seem to have importance reaching far beyond other events. I do not deny that some—naturally not all—of what Lembit Annus, editor-in-chief of the EESTI KOMMUNIST, wrote in PRAVDA is true. The restructuring process in Estonia is complex, and it is not hard to find mistakes here. But I do not understand why Lembit Annus, member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, has not spoken about them sooner, at an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, or an aktiv, or an editors' conference? Why has he not written about his observations to the RAHVA HAAL? Is it not the case of a crafty trick here instead, with an attempt to reinforce his position as editor-in-chief? The situation of the EESTI KOMMUNIST is known to numerous people in Estonia. The printout has deteriorated to such extent under the rule of the present editor that apart from the proofreader probably nobody reads it. For this reason rumors are circulating that a new editor-in-chief is being sought for the magazine. But let them try to depose Lembit Annus now; this will immediately be labelled as persecution for being critical. [passage omitted]

For many years PRAVDA has not paid any attention to Estonia. Items by the local correspondent of the paper—let alone any other author—has experienced extreme difficulties in appearing in PRAVDA's columns. Now, however, you are welcome—three articles even, over a short period of time. PRAVDA, which is controlled from above, is hardly likely to act here of its own accord.

Whatever we think of Annus or Naan's stories, PRAVDA must be taken very seriously. If on Saturday reproaches reached the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, then there is a danger that next time specific names will be mentioned, followed by organizational measures, perhaps something like the infamous Estonian Communist Party Central Committee eighth plenum [held in 1950 when the last pre-Valjas first secretary, of Estonian birth, was dismissed]. [passage omitted]

What has happened in Estonia has given birth to hope in millions of people. We entered all-union politics, and for a number of reasons we have been heard. By now, all of our proposals in fact have been acknowledged as being remarkable on the all-union level, including those which concern laws on the language and citizenship.

But we also have powerful enemies who try to compromise Estonia. On both sides of the Narva River [border between Estonia and RSFSR] disinformation and rumors are spreading. Correspondents have been sent here with the task of organizing positive repercussions to the Naan article, to find or provoke incidents when Russian-speaking customers are not being served. Data about sabotage are being spread through official channels. TASS has even stooped so low as to convey false information. As the Lembit Annus article affirms, advantage has been taken of our foolishness and our national feelings, which have been released from behind the floodgates and which in many ways are indeed a counterblow to the nationality policy up to now, which not always fits in with our policy. [passage omitted]

Ukraine Brings in Coal From Other Republics
AU3012114688 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
24 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined the situation of fuel supplies for the republic's population and to municipal and consumer services. It was noted that in recent times, as a result of the measures taken, the situation of fuel supplies to consumers had somewhat improved. Since the beginning of the year, the plan for selling fuel for these purposes has been fulfilled by 104.3 percent, and supplies in excess of the plan have totaled 700,000 tonnes. The targets for fuel deliveries to schools, hospitals, children's, cultural, and educational institutions have been met and exceeded. Compared with 1987, the amounts of fuel issued to the working people in accordance with collective agreements have doubled, and fuel stocks in the supply organizations have increased.

Executive committees of local soviets have worked out schedules for fuel deliveries to the population, additional transport means have been allotted for these purposes, more than 300 centers have been created to receive

orders for fuel from the population, and work schedules for fuel depots have been reviewed. Particular control has been established over fuel supplies to persons disabled in the Great Patriotic War, to the families of fallen internationalist soldiers, to families with many children, and to pensioners.

However, there are still serious shortcomings in the organization of this important work. The republic as a whole has fallen short of the plan for issuing fuel to the population in conformity with collective agreements (99.6 percent). The largest shortfalls have been incurred in Vinnitsa Oblast (91.7 percent), Kirovograd Oblast (96.2 percent), Poltava Oblast (94.7 percent), and in the city of Simferopol (89.9 percent). Zaporozhye, Odessa, Sumy, and Khmel'nitskiy Oblasts are falling short of the plan for fuel sales to the population. Stocks of high quality coal at fuel depots have shrunk significantly, and this gives rise to numerous complaints by the population about the quality of fuel.

It has been taken into consideration that in all-union organizations, the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan and Gossnab had settled the problem of allotting 2 million tonnes of additional coal for the needs of the republic from other coal basins in the country. Party and administrative organs have been instructed to see to it that fuel supplies to the population improve.

Kirghiz Party Appoints Departmental Heads
LD3012103788 Frunz Domestic Service in Kirghiz
0140 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Here is an information report on the plenum of the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee held on 28 December. The meeting was attended by the first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms; the heads of ministries and departments belonging to the Central Committee; workers of the press, radio, and television; officials of the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee, of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and council of ministers of the Kirghiz SSR. The plenum was opened by Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum examined the proposals of the republican party organizations regarding the nomination of candidates to the USSR Supreme Soviet from the CPSU. The plenum formed a Central Committee commission which discussed 26 candidatures submitted by the raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms for examination by the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

In accordance with the directives of the all-union party conference and the decisions of the September 1988 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, a resolution was adopted on the formation of the following departments of the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee: Organizational Party and Cadre Work; Ideology; Socioeconomic; Agrarian; State Law; General

Department; Administration of Affairs. The Control and Auditing Commission [word indistinct] preservation of the Party Control Commission attached to the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee. [passage indistinct]

The plenum examined an organizational matter. It released Amanbayev from his duties as secretary of the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his transfer to another post. The plenum released Khodos from his duties as member of the Bureau of the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum confirmed the following as head of department of the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee: (Vasilyenko), Organizational Party and Cadre Work; Saadanbekov, Ideology; (Ptitsyn), General Department; Turdubayev, chairman of the Party Control Commission attached to the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee. With this, the plenum of the Kirghizstan Communist Party Central Committee ended.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Planning Meeting
PM3012120388 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 22 Dec 88 pp 1-2

[MOSTASS report: "At Moscow Party Gorkom. Progress-95: A Course Toward Intensification"]

[Excerpts] A joint session of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and the Council for Intensification of Moscow's Socio-economic Development was held 21 December. It was attended by senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee; leaders of central ministries and departments, Moscow Gorispolkom, and the capital's economic organs; party raykom first secretaries; and rayispolkom chairmen.

The session summed up the results of the first stage of the elaboration of "Progress-95," the comprehensive territorial-sectorial program for the intensification of Moscow's economy, and mapped out tasks concerning the completion of the drafting of this important document. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, addressed the session. [passage omitted]

Deputies View Power Industry Pollution Problems
PM2212152188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Nature Presents Its Check. In the Permanent Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Chambers"]

[Text] Soviets of people's deputies look on the work of fundamentally improving the ecological situation in the country as a nationwide matter demanding unflagging

attention. It was from these positions that a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Chambers' Commissions for Protection of the Environment and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources, held 21 December, examined the question of how the demands of legislation on environmental protection are being observed by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification.

Deputies drew the attention of Minister A.I. Mayorets to the uncritical appraisal of the state of affairs as regards the solution of ecological problems. The upper hand in the ministry often lies with the departmental approach, whereby production targets are attained to the detriment of the quality of the environment, while past mistakes in the treatment of nature are eliminated with intolerable slowness. To date the majority of enterprises have failed to elaborate long-term environmental protection programs. The central apparatus is failing to give proper assistance in the practical solution of pressing questions. The sector's enterprises are among the main sources of environmental pollution by sulfuric and nitric compounds.

It was emphasized at the session that the ministry's investment policy is still inadequately geared to ecological problems. Power supply projects are often approved without taking into account the opinion of local soviet organs and the broad public. The construction of environmental protection installations takes 3-4 times longer than the normative schedule, and the defective practice whereby facilities are commissioned without the necessary package of environmental protection installations is still applied. The department's science and technology policy is inadequately geared toward accelerating the development of ecologically clean production units. The commissions noted that the USSR Gosplan has failed to take a principled stance on resolving these questions when elaborating and implementing the relevant sections of plans.

The session also leveled criticisms at other departments—the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building which, together with the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, are guilty of unsatisfactory performance as regards the development of advanced technology to neutralize harmful emissions into the atmosphere. The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry thwart the targets for improving the quality of energy fuel, and this has a sizeable effect on the growing emission of environmental pollutants.

The decision adopted by the commissions instructs the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification to implement specific measures to impose order and to reconstruct existing enterprises, to give more attention to the solution of ecological problems in the context of the long-term development of the country's energy complex. The commissions' decision also contains a series of

important recommendations concerning the fulfillment of party and government resolutions on environmental protection by other departments and organizations.

The commissions also examined questions concerning the question by USSR Supreme Soviet deputies about the building and reconstruction of USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry's Zavolzhsk chemical plant and its potentially serious effect on the ecological situation near the "Shchelykovo" A.N. Ostrovskiy estate-museum.

Reports were heard from leaders of the relevant ministries, departments, and local management organs, scientists, and specialists. The deputies who asked the question also spoke. In their decision, the commissions took note of the explanation offered by V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on this matter, and agreed that the USSR Council of Ministers will make the final decision on the building and reconstruction of the Zavolzhsk chemical plant with due consideration for the discussion at the commissions' session.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part in the session.

Retail Price Cuts Envisaged

*LD2912104888 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT
29 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—Retail prices on some types of products, including fabric, cultural and household goods except for foodstuffs will be reduced in the USSR from January next year. Some 100 million roubles have been allocated for this purpose from the state budget. This statement was made in an interview to the weekly "ARGUMENTY I FAKTY" by Ivan Gorbachev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices. He refuted rumours that consumer goods prices were to be increased.

The Price Committee spokesman said that the elaboration of a system of economic and other measures aimed at overcoming negative trends in the existing system of pricing is now being completed. "The measures envisage strengthening economic incentives, which will help increase the production of cheap goods needed by the population and meet the requirements of various groups of consumers. In particular, starting from 1989 the state order to light industry enterprises will prompt the production of goods for children and elderly people at low prices."

Ivan Gorbachev said the USSR Council of Ministers had decided to subsidize wholesale prices and additionally reduce fabric and material prices to stimulate the production of goods for the elderly and children and ensure their sale at low retail prices. This rule comes into effect on January 1, 1989. For these purposes the state will set aside not less than 1,500 million roubles a year.

Economic

Commentator on Credit-Debt Problem

LD2712220288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 Gmt 27 Dec 88

[Commentary by Viktor Levin, from the "International Diary" program presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Excerpts] In an interview with the newspaper NEPSZA (Bacho), acting director of the New York National Bank, said that at present the net volume of Hungary's foreign debt is \$13 billion. This is reported in a dispatch from Budapest. The problem of the foreign debt of a number of socialist countries has recently been attracting great attention. It is well known that Hungary is finding it rather difficult to clear its accumulated debts. Sometimes the question even arises: is there not too much risk associated with receiving loans from the capitalist countries? I'll ask my colleague, Viktor Levin, to reply to that question.

[Levin] [passage omitted] Economics is a complex science, and far from all questions have yet been answered. Moreover, credits are not only an economic but also a political factor. Can one really, say, ignore the temptation to flood the market with goods which are in short supply by using credits? Nor must one not leave out of the calculation ambitious plans to double or treble a country's economic potential in a short period. At the outset, when these plans are being put into practice, there is no shortage of public support. True, when it turns out that these calculations had been done superficially profound disillusionment sets in, since it is extremely difficult to repay the debts without having obtained any effect from them. In the end, an urgent hole-patching situation frequently arises, and should it be possible to get credit for this purpose there are few who would decide to refuse it.

Hungary—and I am returning to Hungary because that's where I started—has found itself in a difficult debt situation because of unfavorable changes on the world market and the fall in the dollar rate. Budapest also names among the negative factors the impossibility of acquiring convertible currency in its trade turnover with the socialist countries. Poland's debt amounts to more than Hungary's. According to the latest figures, this is \$37 billion. However, per capita this is rather less than Hungary's. True, this is no consolation for the Poles themselves.

These comparisons may be fine for publicists, but the consumer feels the effect of national debt, as they say, on himself, the idea that someone else is even worse off does not make it any easier for him. This is even more the case when any Pole can see considerably more consumer goods in Hungary than he can at home. This year I have been to both Poland and Hungary, and I can testify that both the choice of goods and their prices are more

preferable in Hungary than in Poland. So it would seem that statistics, even when broken up into component parts, cannot provide the answer to all the questions.

Of course, we are not in the slightest indifferent to how things are going for our friends, or to what difficulties they have to overcome. However, it is perfectly natural that our own economy and our own debts should worry us considerably more. My attempts to discover official figures for our debts were not crowned with success. These figures, which worry every thinking citizen, remain a secret under seven seals. It is only known that we have recently been granted credit by banks from a number of West European countries totaling \$9 billion. Incidentally, this comes from Western sources. It has been officially announced that we have been granted credit of R1 Billion, or DM3 Billion, by a consortium of West German banks. This is specific credit: the money can only be spent on the purchase in the FRG of equipment for the food and light industries. We are required to pay 5.5-6 percent for this credit. The conditions are advantageous, and the equipment we will get is much needed, but the question still arises: How are we going to repay it? Our creditors have no doubts about the ability of the Soviet Union to pay. The chairman of the board of the Dresdner Bank has said that the Soviet Union will pay with oil and gas, and later with engineering products developed in accordance with world standards at joint enterprises. This optimism looks rather different to us, since trading in oil and gas, that is, in raw products, is far from the best commerce, although at the present there is simply no other way.

No one today is saying that credit should not be taken at all. Credit has become a solid practice as one of the most important means of international trade. However, when applying for credit, one must every time have a clear idea of how and in what one will have to repay. Just as in the family budget, one must take strict account of one's abilities. There is a piece of worldly wisdom: take other people's money on credit and pay out your own. By "your own" I mean that it is essential to calculate carefully your ability to pay your debts.

Science Academy Operates New Financial System

LD2712134988 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT
27 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—The Soviet Academy of Sciences will finance concrete programmes and projects instead of just scientific organisations from January 1st 1989. The opinion of Guriy Marchuk, president of the academy, is that this will help concentrate financial, material, technical and labour resources on important research and improve the connections between different branches of research both under the auspices of the academy and the country as a whole.

The new finance system is operating within the framework of full cost accounting in the academy. In the new year radical changes will take place in conducting

applied research, which previously wasn't stimulated in the academy. Relations between an institute or a laboratory and a client will be regulated through the system of agreed prices. Profits from contracted work will go to the material incentives fund and to help stimulate scientific-technical and social development of the organization. The scientists' salaries will be determined only by the amount of work done. It won't be strictly fixed as it has been before. All limits have been removed on the size of a scientist's salary and bonus.

The main task of the academy is still its fundamental research which determines scientific and technical priorities. The main client for fundamental research is the government. The academy state budget for 1989 has been increased by 500 million rubles (the usual increase for a decade) and the academy budget is now about two billion rubles.

PRAVDA on Soviet Far East's Foreign Links
LD2612093988 Moscow TASS in English
0926 GMT 26 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—As many as 70 different delegations from Vietnam, China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Japan, Australia, USA, Canada and New Zealand have visited this year Nakhodka and Vladivostok. This shows that the Soviet Far East has started to step up direct relations with foreign enterprises producing consumer goods, Valeriy Lozovoy, general director of the Association for Business Cooperation with Countries of the Asian-Pacific Region, writes in today's issue of the newspaper PRAVDA.

The author stresses that cooperation with neighbouring countries in the manufacture of furniture, refrigerators, television and radio sets, ready-made clothing, is expected to be established next year. Construction of modern hotels will be started at Khabarovsk and Vladivostok. Far Eastern organizations are ready to promote cooperation with foreign firms in ship-building and ship-repair works, in the reconstruction of non-ferrous metallurgy enterprises.

The association's general director writes that Soviet enterprises are interested in receiving up-to-date technologies for processing waste paper and organizing wasteless fish processing. Positive results have already been achieved in this sphere. Far Eastern organizations are partners in seven operating joint enterprises in Vietnam, USA, Japan and Sweden. Some 50 proposals, received from many foreign firms, are now being studied.

The Soviet expert deems noteworthy also the proposal made by Japanese insurance companies to set up a special business zone in the maritime territory, which could be rented for 50-60 years by a Soviet-Japanese consortium.

Scientific

Cosmos-1986 Satellite Launched
LD2912153488 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1510 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1986 was launched in the Soviet Union today. The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

As well as scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting data to earth about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 89.4 minutes; apogee, 316 km; perigee, 204 km; orbital inclination, 64.8 degrees.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Phobos-2 Continues Mars Mission
LD2912181588 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1130 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (TASS)—A TASS correspondent reports from Flight Control Center:

The automatic interplanetary station Phobos-2 is continuing its flight to Mars. Along the flight path the scientific apparatus installed on the station is performing regular measurements of the characteristics of the interplanetary medium, recording cosmic gamma-bursts, and studying the physical processes taking place on the sun. Additional data have been obtained on the structure and dynamics of the sun's surface.

During the flight a test survey of the stars has been carried out by the television complex designed for obtaining images of Mars and Phobos. According to telemetric reports, Phobos-2's onboard systems and scientific apparatus are functioning normally.

In accordance with the flight program, the control group is preparing to make the adjustment to the station's trajectory scheduled for the 22 January. At the end of January the apparatus is to be put into orbit as an artificial satellite of Mars. An international team of scientists from the countries participating in the Phobos project are preparing to work with the station in Flight Control Center, the Center for Remote Space Communications, and the Space Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Space Official Discuss Mars Probes

LD2912110388 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT
29 Dec 88

[Text] Kaliningrad December 29 TASS—The Soviet space probe Phobos-2, which blasted off on July 12, 1988, will begin orbiting Mars by the end of next January and approach the Red Planet's moon Phobos in early April, a TASS correspondent was told at the Babakin research and testing centre here, which has developed the craft.

Phobos, one of the space highlights of the outgoing year, is the most representative international project in the history of space exploration.

As well as Soviet scientists, it was prepared by their colleagues from 12 countries and the European Space Agency.

Radio contact with the Phobos-1 probe, launched on July 7, was lost in September due to an erroneous computer command sent to the vehicle, which turned off its pneumatic system.

As a result, the probe became disoriented and ceased to respond to orders from ground control.

The two Phobos craft are twins with nearly identical equipment, the sole exception being two instruments carried only by Phobos-1. One was designed to register neutron radiation from the surface of Phobos, the other to study Mars' magnetic field.

Valuable scientific data has already been obtained. Both probes recorded the parameters of shock waves created as solar winds crash into the magnetosphere of Earth. Similar readings will be taken in the vicinity of Mars.

In addition to this, x-ray and conventional pictures were taken of the sun and of the solar flares.

Routine equipment checks revealed isolated malfunctions in some of the instruments on board Phobos-2 but, according to Dr. Garriy Rogovskiy of the Babakin Centre, most have been rectified, while the rest won't prevent the research program from being carried out in full.

After approaching Mars the vehicle will take ever lower orbits to explore the planet in the visible, infra-red and gamma-ray bands, compile a temperature map of its surface, get a better idea of its mineral make-up and test its atmosphere and ionosphere.

When it reaches Phobos in early April, the craft will coast some 50 metres above surface for 15 to 20 minutes. For the first time in planetary studies, Phobos soil will be investigated using a laser mass spectrometer.

A laser beam as thin as one millimetre will hit the Martian moon's surface and turn a speck of soil into an ionised cloudlet of vapour which will then be scrutinised by the probe's on-board equipment.

At the end of the low-altitude flight the craft will drop two small probes (landers) on Phobos. These will remain operational for a long time, studying soil and celestial mechanics.

Officials Cited on Armenian AES Safety

PM2912155388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 88 p 1

[M. Degtyar report under the rubric "Pointed Question":
"AES: Rumors and Facts"]

[Text] It is known that rumors, like facts, are stubborn things. And it is not as easy to refute them as it might seem. For example, people have already written about the state of the Armenian AES, which was just within the earthquake zone. Nevertheless, the squall of calls is not dying down. What incredible and sometimes even provocative assumptions are made! For example, Moscow specially arranged a nuclear explosion in the region of the AES, thus causing the earthquake. There is a lot of talk about a dangerous wind pattern—the wind allegedly carries radioactive discharges precisely toward Yerevan...

I called L.M. Voronin, USSR first deputy minister of nuclear power generation.

"The station withstood the underground shock and is working normally, and we have no complaints. The rumors of an explosion are utter nonsense, and I do not even wish to speak of this..."

Yes, the deputy minister reported information of fundamental importance. But very scant information. Perhaps other specialists will prove more talkative?

V.I. Kondratyev, chief engineer of the USSR Nuclear Power Generation Ministry Main Control Administration:

"A special nuclear explosion is, of course, nonsense. We have complete confidence in the Armenian AES: The equipment has operated reliably. As is known, the underground shock in the region of the station was force 5.5, but the station was constructed to withstand force 8. If there was a force 6 earthquake, say, in the region of the station, earthquake sensors would operate and the reactors would be stopped. There was merely an automatic frequency unloading of one of the reactor units, as large groups of consumers of electricity were cut off simultaneously. The frequency in the power system increased correspondingly, and the second reactor unit was unloaded from 400 down to 350 megawatts. This is absolutely normal."

"And yet, Viktor Ivanovich, is the Armenian AES 'strength factor' adequate, and what will its fate be? What can you say about the 'radioactive' wind in the direction of Yerevan?"

"The buildings constructed in Leninakan to withstand a force 9 underground shock did so. And I am sure that the AES will also withstand one. As for the station's fate, as far as I know it will function for 2 more years. Other energy sources will be found in the longer term. As regards radioactivity, the Armenian AES is totally ecologically clean: Radioactivity is at the background level. This is now being carefully monitored by specialists of the AES itself and of the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry."

Academy of Sciences General Meeting Begins
PM2812154588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "An Ecology Program"]

[Text] The attention of participants in a session of the USSR Academy of Sciences General Meeting, which opened in Moscow 27 December, is focused on ways to comprehensively solve one of the most topical universal problems—the protection of the environment. This session is devoted to a discussion of the draft basic provisions of a general academic program for biosphere and ecology research through the year 2015. Scientists and specialists from the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Environmental Control, the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, ministries, and other departments are also taking part in its work.

Opening the General Meeting session, Academician G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted that the country's leading scientists were involved in compiling the draft program. Its preparation took almost 18 months and was repeatedly discussed at enlarged sessions of the specially constituted ad hoc commission which took into account numerous remarks and suggestions by specialists.

We are at the kind of stage of man-made effects on nature, G.I. Marchuk emphasized, when the processes of ecological degradation are still markedly localized but, at the same time, they provide a background for emerging global trends which are dangerous for the biosphere as a whole. There is still time for people's efforts to halt the process of irreversible ecological changes, and these efforts must be immediately utilized on the basis of international agreements, since the solution of such problems by a single country, even a vast country like ours, is impossible.

The president of the USSR Academy of Sciences spoke in detail about the factors which pose the greatest danger for our planet's ecology systems and dwelt on ways for the possible solution of various environmental protection questions.

The session then moved on to speeches by scientists who led the elaboration of the sections of the draft general academic program. Academician A.L. Yanshin; Academician A.A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; and F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Control, spoke on various aspects of the solution of ecology problems.

The morning sitting of the General Meeting session held elections of new foreign members of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Many eminent scientists from different countries were elected.

V.A. Grigoryev, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Establishments Department, took part in the session's work.

The USSR Academy of Sciences General Meeting session will last 3 days.

Military

General Staff Party Conference Held
PM2912122588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Nikonov report: "Along the Course of Renewal. Notes from the Party Conference of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff"]

[Text] The final touches—as it is generally described—were being added to the report, delivered at the conference by Colonel General A. Agafonov, chief of the General Staff Political Department [position as published], until the very last minute. Details were being added, positions were being clarified, accents were being placed more accurately. The purpose of the changes, moreover, was not to gloss over problems as was quite natural even quite recently. The work of communist leaders of a whole series of directorates, sections, and party organizations was subjected to sharp and vigorous criticism. This too is probably one of the crucial features of the times of change, a feature which has become dominant at the General Staff where restructuring is increasingly becoming an irreversible reality. The conference graphically bore this out.

The Political Department gave an account of its work at all major party organizations in the course of the report-and-election meetings. This too is a crucial fact. It too belongs to the sphere of new approaches. This has helped Communists in the Political Department not merely to

submit theses about desirable developments to the conference but to make a relatively accurate assessment of the situation in directorate and section party collectives, and to put forward their program for the elimination of bottlenecks and the solution of paramount problems. It was possible to either agree to this program, to add to it, or to reject it, but it was this businesslike, constructive approach which prompted action, compelled people to engage in self-analysis, and called for a quest for a new quality of work. The conference delegates duly appreciated, accepted, and supported this by joining in the heated discussion.

...It is true that the plans compiled at directorates sometimes do not correspond to the possibilities of units and formations at local level... and that the reports on the situation in the forces are not always objective, with inspection commissions frequently glossing over rough patches. Assistance to troops is not always effective and demands greater competence on the part of directorate specialists... Parallelism has not been entirely eradicated... Sometimes major decisions are not sufficiently well weighed... There still is too much paperwork... Some communist leaders fail to set an example in playing a vanguard role in key spheres of renewal... Some scientific studies fail to give priority to qualitative parameters of armaments...

Even this brief overview conveys a graphic picture of the diversity of acute problems submitted for discussion at the conference. The Political Department has adopted the stance of a competent political leader here, seriously concerned at the results of restructuring within the General Staff. Despite the fact that much has been done during the period under review, these results are not yet fruitful enough.

Restructuring, in our understanding, the main speaker stressed, is not just a focus on new formulas and an active reshaping of obsolete structures. It is above all a focus on the question: How will this benefit the people, the army, the country, and socialism?

This is the criterion. Concern rang out from the rostrum at the inertness of a number of party committees and bureaus which do not exert a political influence on the process of restructuring. This applies specifically to party committee secretaries V. Brodovoy and P. Usanov and party organization secretaries Ye. Gushchin and G. Vlasov. The assessment of Communists A. Yevtekhov, A. Funtikov, V. Mironov, A. Ragozin, V. Gorokhov, and V. Kazakov was even more outspoken: "...It is necessary to frankly admit that no noticeable restructuring is so far visible in their work." This means that the reorientation toward a modern work style by means of political methods is clearly proceeding too slowly, and an atmosphere of broad organizational creativity, an atmosphere in which Communists would be able to fearlessly report the current state of affairs to the leadership, openly set forth and argue their viewpoints, submit their proposals,

and boldly criticize shortcomings has not yet been created in all party collectives. There are good examples of this in a whole series of directorates and sections, but it has not yet become a general and natural quality of relations throughout the General Staff apparatus. This is what is above all evoking the concern of the Political Department.

We must organize our work in such a way, conference delegates emphasized, that people bring their boldest and most interesting proposals to party committees where they will find support, objective assessment, lively comradesly interest, and real help. After all, it is the task of party committees and bureaus today to identify creative thought in collectives and help Communists to join more actively in the process of further democratization. It is their task to teach cadres to live and act in conditions of strengthening democracy and to master the new political standards. This is particularly important for workers in such an apparatus as the General Staff which organizes and generates all progressive thought in military matters.

Naturally, these wishes are realizable only if the Communists working in party organs are really highly competent. Many delegates' contributions revolved around this theme. After all, if, for instance, the party committee headed by P. Usanov fails to thoroughly attend to questions of scientific work when this is its main, so-to-speak professional sphere of action, then it is hardly possible to expect qualitative advances from collectives. The results, or rather the lack of good, stable results of the work of collectives headed by Communists B. Strel-nichenko and V. Fedorov were subjected to justified criticism at the conference. An example was also quoted which eloquently testifies to the persistence in military science of the incorrigible administrative decisionmaking process. For 2 months, using various pretexts, Comrades S. Kolosov, A. Funtikov, and V. Kazakov put off adopting a decision on questions which really brooked no delay. In the end the intervention of the Political Department was needed in order to deal with the problem and get things moving, as they say.

At the CPSU Central Committee January (1988) Plenum the attitude toward restructuring was described as the main criterion by means of which cadres should be judged. This criterion decisively became part of day-to-day life after the 19th party conference. The dividing line between the people who actively engage in restructuring and those who engage in abstract deliberations about restructuring is becoming more and more distinct. Communists F. Bunin, V. Mikhaylov, G. Krivosheyev, V. Shabanov, and V. Lobov drew the attention of conference delegates to the emergence of certain trends in the psychology of restructuring as a result of which attempts are made to present barely changed old techniques as a model of work "in the new fashion." New instructions are based on essentially old precepts. This is, to put it mildly, pseudoefficiency. As a result the standard of troops' combat readiness is frequently rising only slowly.

When the discussion is truly principled, when attention is focused on shortcomings and omissions in work, then it is always facing in the right direction. Communists V. Omelichev, M. Gareyev, G. Krivosheyev, K. Kobets, and Ye. Yevstigneyev were subjected to meaningful criticism.

Why is work efficiency still low? It is because formalism, red tape, and bureaucratic obstacles abound in cadre work. As a result people lacking organizational skills and party modesty sometimes end up in responsible posts among the troops. This happens less frequently now, of course. Such people get noticed. However, even isolated cases damage the cause of restructuring. Democratization and glasnost have brought to light old problems which had gradually built up because instead of being exposed and tackled, they were swept under the carpet. But that is only part of the problem. It was noted at the conference that groups of officers and generals are visiting the troops for the sole purpose of exposing shortcomings. Sometimes they lack the necessary principledness to tell the local leadership the truth about the state of affairs boldly enough, and sometimes they lack the competence without which effective assistance in the elimination of shortcomings is unthinkable. As a result in some cases both the analyses in the troops and the reports to the leadership on the results of the checks are unobjective and unprincipled.

It is therefore not fortuitous that for this very reason the plans for combat training in a number of okrugs do not correspond to the potential of the troops, Marshal of the Soviet Union V. Kulikov emphasized in his speech at the conference. In the new conditions a new implementation mechanism is needed. A new mechanism. A mechanism which will enable us to achieve qualitative parameters. There is no other option.

The subject of special concern during the period under review was the work of the General Staff and all its subdivisions and party organizations with a view to eliminating the shortcomings pointed out by the party Central Committee in June 1987. Both the report and the speeches noted that a great deal of work has been done. But that is only part of the matter. Not only the approaches to the organization of alert duty and combat service in the troops, including the solution of peace time emergency tasks, but also the theoretical foundations of a whole series of established concepts have been fundamentally changed.

Plans are being revised in the light of the defensive military doctrine, clarifications and improvements are being introduced in documents and provisions, and other work is also under way.

However, it was precisely this "other" work which was subjected to criticism because it has a direct bearing on the human factor at local level. Unfortunately, the situation in this sphere is changing for the better only slowly. Deep-rooted stereotypes of the mass consciousness

shaped in previous years cannot be overcome overnight, or within a short period. And the Political Department's concern and its efforts to ensure that the main role here is played by party committees and bureaus, helping Communists to travel the difficult and thorny path of renewal, of the decisive restructuring of the style and methods of their work, is understandable.

In my opinion it is necessary to dwell on one more question. It cropped up in one way or another in the context of many of the conference delegates' speeches, thus revealing its topicality and political urgency. It is the question of the standard of cadres' legal education as an inalienable part of our political culture. For many troop commanders the standard of their legal education has long been their vulnerable spot, delegates and, in particular, Communists V. Dzyuba, V. Zemlyanitsyn, and others stressed. Some of them are not just legally illiterate, they also tend toward legal nihilism. This is actually so. There is much evidence of this in the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA mailbag, for instance. To master high standards in legal education is not just a slogan and a pious wish today. It is an absolute necessity, a fundamental question of ensuring restructuring at local level because nothing undermines people's faith in social justice, democratization, and glasnost more than elementary violations of the rule of law. The social protection of military cadres given the present imperfection of the legal mechanism demands the constant attention of party organizations.

These and many other questions relating to ways of improving the work of the Political Department and General Staff party organizations in the course of restructuring are reflected in the adopted resolution.

The conference was attended by Colonel General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and N. Shlyaga, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee.

Lithuanian Civil Defense Changes Explained *LD2912112888 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian* *1246 GMT 2 Dec 88*

[Statement by (Boris Aleksandrovich Yumashov), head of the Vilnius Soviet Rayon civil defense headquarters]

[Excerpt] Civil defense in the republic has reached a new stage in its development. For the first time a qualitative task has been set for civil defence: reliable protection of the population, not only during wartime but also during peacetime, from the consequences of industrial accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters.

It is impossible to resolve this task without a sharp increase in the qualitative preparation of all civil defense trainees and without setting up and improving the material and educational basis of civil defense.

Training wings, civil defense training centers, training classrooms, studies, and civil defense stands are the fundamental requirements for setting up a civil defense educational and material basis at national economic installations.

It has been established, in accordance with the demands of the civil defence headquarters of the republic, that each installation of national economy where 300 or more people are employed the following civil defense facilities must be set up: a training center, 2-3 units of the entire training wing, training classrooms at a rate of one classroom for 10- 15 training groups, and civil defense display boards in every shop, department, or team.

In places where the number of employed people is less than 300 people, 1-2 training places, one classroom for

each 10-15 training groups, and civil defense display boards in each shop, department and team, will be established.

Using the example of the "Komunaras" machine-tool factory we can be graphically convinced about the positive influence of enhancing theoretical knowledge and practical skills in the process of training leading personnel, non-militarized formations, and workers and employees, in their solutions of civil defense tasks.

Earlier the "Komunars" machine-tool manufacturing plant was mentioned on more than one occasion as an installation where the question of civil defence was not given adequate attention. [passage omitted]